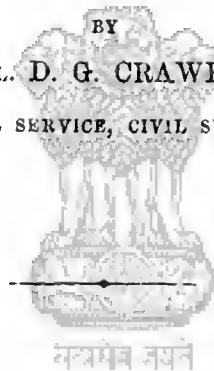


A BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
HUGHLI DISTRICT.

BY
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INTRODUCTION.

As the Medical Gazetteer of the Hughli district is the first of a series of such histories in Bengal which it is proposed to publish, the circumstances under which they are being compiled may be described. I prepared a medico-topographical account of Jeypore, in Rajputana, in 1894, and with the approval of the Government of India and of the Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, Medical Officers in that Province were invited (in the case, however, of Native States, with the concurrence of the Chiefs, who would probably publish the works) to prepare similar histories of their own charges, and I was appointed to edit the series. A number of such accounts has now been published, including a general gazetteer of Rajputana by myself, and the Government of Bengal agreed to the voluntary compilation of similar histories for Bengal districts, the most meritorious of which were to be published under my editorship. A circular letter to Civil Surgeons indicating the objects, scope, and general order in which it was suggested that the different subjects should be treated, was issued in September 1899. The Hughli Gazetteer, which shows considerable research on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, is highly creditable to him, because he has been little more than a year in the district and has had a very large amount of professional work to perform. Dr. Crawford wrote for this gazetteer such a voluminous and valuable chapter on the history of the district that it has been decided by Government that it should be published separately, on the further ground, moreover, that it was beyond the scope of a medical account of Hughli. It may, however, be usefully read in connection with most of the special accounts of districts in Lower Bengal.

In some other chapters the author has written on subjects at greater length than was contemplated, but as he is peculiarly qualified to do so and his observations are always of value, they have been retained.

A complete gazetteer of this kind should be of great use in enabling all who are interested in municipal, and especially in sanitary matters, to read in a few pages what has been done in the

past, so that they may avoid a repetition of costly experiments which have failed. If this alone should prove to be the result of the publication of the Gazetteers, it will save far more than their cost by preventing much waste of time and money. Moreover, it will always be an advantage to have information of this kind in an accessible form, and it is besides desirable, as His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has observed, in papers relating to the project, to take stock, as it were, of past work from time to time. A perusal of Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford's summary of the very varied opinions held by men of distinction in their own day, on the causation, for example, of the Burdwan fever, and of the views of others on sanitary measures in the Hughli town and district, will show how cautiously our theories should be formed, and, further, how much more deliberate we ought to be in giving practical and, perhaps, expensive, and, even dangerous, as well as troublesome, effect to our deductions from them.

If about 1840, the instructions of Government on the suggestions of the late Sir J. Ranald Martin that medical histories of all important military charges should be prepared, had been carried out more extensively also in Civil Stations, and if such accounts had been amplified and kept up to date by succeeding officers we should have had an immense amount of information at our disposal; many disappointments and failures, would have been avoided; and, I may venture to add, much more progress would have been effected, for example, in sanitation, in the diminution of mortality in jails, and in the popularization and systematization of all forms of medical and charitable relief.

T. H. HENDLEY, COL., I.M.S.,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Early History	2
The Portuguese and Bandel	3
The English, early settlement	11
The Dutch and Chinsura	26
The French and Chandarnagar	40
The Danes and Serampore	50
The other European Companies	54
Hughli district, subsequent to 1760	56
Ethnology	63
Musalmans in Hughli	63
Folklore	68
Index	



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A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

HUGHLI DISTRICT.

HUGHLI is not an ancient historic district whose story runs back to time immemorial, as does that of many places in India. Its early history is practically comprised in a few references to Satgaon, which was for many centuries the capital, as far as any place can be called the capital of Bengal. Alike in the pre-historic times of Hindu dominion and in the palmy days of the dynasty of Timur, Hughli hardly appears in history, and yet it may be said to be historically one of the most interesting districts in the province of Bengal, indeed in the whole of India. But this interest is entirely a matter of the last four centuries, and is almost wholly European. Here, within the space of a few miles of river bank, Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Flemings all formed settlements, and struggled with each other, first for supremacy in trade, and then for empire; and it is only owing to the European settlements that the native Governments come into the history of Hughli at all. The energy of the European traders, which converted an out-of-the-way, swampy, little-known corner of the country, first into a great centre of trade, then into the capital, first of the province, afterwards of the whole country, forced upon the native rulers the importance, first of Hughli, afterwards of Calcutta. From the first settlement of the Portuguese the intruders from the West were as thorns in the side of the Musalman administration, which was kept busy in trying to maintain the peace between the different nations settled on the Hughli, and before long had to struggle, without success, for its very existence, with the strangers from over the sea. Portugal was a decaying power when the capture of the Portuguese fort at Hughli forever destroyed her influence in Bengal. But the Dutch, French, and English, who stepped into the places of the Portuguese, were men of a very different character and different physical force. For long it remained doubtful whether the Empire of India would fall to the English or to the French. Owing partly to want of support from Europe, partly to the genius of Clive, and to the superiority of the subordinate English officers to those of France, the magnificent schemes of Dupleix, who was the first European to conceive the possibility of the empire of the East falling to a Western power, came to naught, and the sceptre of the Great Mogul fell into the

hands of the English Sovereign. But, had the English succumbed to the French, there can be no doubt that they would have subdued the whole country, as the English have done; the sovereignty would not have remained with the native powers.

I propose to consider the history of the district under the following heads, most of which, however, must necessarily overlap each other:—

1. Early history, to the end of the sixteenth century.
2. The Portuguese, and Bandel.
3. The English, up to 1760.
4. The Dutch, and Chinsura.
5. The French, and Chandarnagar.
6. The Danes, and Serampur.
7. History of the district, since 1760.

1. *Early History*.—But little is known of the early history of Hughli district, and that little is chiefly comprised in the one word, Satgaon. This portion of Bengal was known as Rarh in early times; the boundaries of Rarh are not known, but it is supposed to have included a large tract round the mouth of the Hughli river, comprising the present districts of Bardwan, Midnapur, Hughli, Howrah, the 24-Parganas, and Nadiya. Satgaon is supposed to be the “Ganges Regia,” described by the geographer Ptolemy, the capital of the Gangaridæ, a nation who lived in the country round the mouths of the Ganges. Satgaon was the ancient royal port of Bengal. *Sarkar* Satgaon was one of the administrative divisions of the Mogul Empire, and included the 24-Parganas and Nadiya, as well as the present Hughli district. When the Portuguese first began to frequent Bengal, about 1530, Satgaon was still a great and flourishing city. They called it Porto Piqueno, the Little Haven. But the silting up of the Saraswati appears to have begun about the commencement of the sixteenth century, and by the middle of the century Satgaon was getting difficult of access; though in 1565 it was still “a reasonable fair citie,” abounding in all things, and in it “the merchants gather together for their trade,” according to Caesar Frederick (*Hakluyt* I, 230, quoted by Wilson). The Revd. J. Long, in an article on the Banks of the Bhagirathi, in the *Calcutta Review* for 1846, makes some further quotations from Frederick, whom he quotes as describing a place called Buttor:—

“A good tide’s rowing before you come to Satgaw, from hence upwards the ships do not go, because that upwards the river is very shallow and little water, the small ships go to Satgaw and there they lade.”

Also—

“Buttor has an infinite number of ships and bazars, while the ships stay in the season, they erect a village of straw houses, which they burn when the ships leave, and build again the next season; in the port of Satgaw every year they lade 30 or 35 ships great and small with

rice, cloth of bombast of divers sorts, lacca, great abundance of sugar, paper, oil of zerzeline, and other sorts of merchandize."

Buttor is the modern Sibpur: the name Bhatore is still given to a locality between the Botanical Gardens and the Engineering College, slightly north of these places and back from the river. It must have taken very good rowing to go from Buttor to Satgaon on one tide; the distance up the Hughli is fully 35 miles, besides some four miles down the Saraswati to Satgaon. Mr. Long also quotes from Di Barros:—"Satgaw is a great and noble city, though less frequented than Chittagong, on account of the port not being so convenient for the entrance and departure of ships;" and from Purchas, who calls it "a fair citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentiful, but sometimes subject to Patnaw."

After the capture of the Portuguese fort of Hughli in 1632, Hughli became the royal port, and all public offices were transferred to that place from Satgaon, which gradually fell into decay. But Warwick, a Dutch Admiral, quoted by Long, states that in 1667 Satgaon was still a great place of trade for the Portuguese.

The river Saraswati was once the boundary between the kingdom of Orissa and that of Bengal, but this was almost in pre-historic times. In 1589 Raja Man Sinh, Governor of Bengal under Akbar, in an expedition against the Afghans, who then held the kingdom of Orissa, halted for the rainy season at Jahanabad. And in 1592 the Afghans from Orissa plundered Satgaon. The boundary of the kingdom of Orissa was then somewhere about Midnapur. In Akbar's time Satgaon was known as *Balghak-Khana*, the "house of revolt."

Pandua also appears in more or less legendary history, when it was captured by Shah Safi, from the Hindu Raja who formerly held sway there. The date is by no means certain, but it would appear to be about the middle of the fourteenth century that the Hughli district passed from Hindu to Musalman dominion. More about both Satgaon and Pandua will be found in the description of these places in Chapter VII of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer.

2. *The Portuguese, and Bandel.*—The Portuguese, as is well known, were the first European nation to visit and settle in India. On 8th January 1454 Pope Nicholas V granted to Affonso V of Portugal an exclusive right to all countries which might be discovered in Africa and eastwards, including India. Bartholomeo Diaz doubled the Cape for the first time early in 1487. The first explorer to reach India was Vasco da Gama, who arrived at Calicut on 26th August 1498. Pedro Alvarez Cabral discovered Brazil on 21st April 1500, having been driven far out of his course, to the west, when on the way to India, *via* the Cape. Much about the same time the Spaniards began to push their discoveries westwards. Columbus sailed on his voyage of discovery on 3rd August 1492, and discovered Hispaniola, now Haiti, before

the end of the year. On 4th May 1493 Pope Alexander VI issued a bull granting to Spain all countries discovered more than 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands; in 1494 the line between the Spanish and Portuguese claims was altered to one drawn 370 leagues west of those islands. The Spaniards exploring to the west, and the Portuguese going east, before very long, in 1527, came into collision, the actual meeting taking place in the Moluccas. Each claimed that their side was within its rights, and certainly the case appears to be one of those in which a good deal could be said in favour of each side. Goa was captured by the Portuguese in 1510.

The first Portuguese explorer to visit Bengal was João da Silveira, in the year 1518. Portuguese traders began to frequent Bengal about 1530. In 1534 the Viceroy of Goa sent a fleet of nine ships to aid the reigning Nawab of Bengal against an invader, Sher Khan. In 1538 a number of Portuguese entered the service of the King of Gaur as military adventurers. Babu S. C. Dey, the author of a series of articles on "Hughli, Past and Present," in the *Calcutta Review* for 1892-93, states that a Portuguese Captain, named Sampayo, built the old Fort of Hughli in 1537 or 1538. It was not, however, till the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) that the Portuguese regularly settled at Hughli, which they are supposed to have done with that Emperor's permission, about 1575. Previous to that date their ships had only come for trade, loaded their cargoes, and left again. Akbar is said to have expressed a desire to see some of these new strangers from the West, in compliance with which a Portuguese Captain, named Tavaréz, went up to Agra, was favourably received by Akbar, and granted permission to choose any spot he liked near Hughli, to erect a town, with full liberty to build a church, and to preach to Gospel. It seems most probable that the old Portuguese fort of Hughli was built in accordance with this permission. In return the Portuguese promised to clear the coast of pirates, but never did so. Portuguese pirates at this time infested the rivers of the Sundarbans, plundered the river-side villages, captured trading boats whenever they could, and generally made themselves dreaded by peaceful traders and inhabitants. From them the branch of the Hughli now known as Channel Creek got the name of Rogue's River. The Portuguese were seen settled at Hughli, by Fitch, in 1586. In 1603, Toynbee writes, Hughli is described as Golin, a Portuguese colony, where an officer of that nation had captured a fort belonging to the Musalmans, killing all the garrison, of 400 men, with one exception. Hughli is often described as an island in the river, owing to the deep and broad moat which surrounded the Portuguese fort, one side of which, or very possibly two sides, had its walls washed by the river.

In the year 1721 Prince Khuram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jahan, was in rebellion against his father Jahangir, and applied for help to Michael

Rodriguez, the Portuguese Governor of Hughli, who refused to aid him, and it is said added insult to injury by taunting him with his misconduct. Shah Jahan came to the throne on 1st February 1628, and nominated Kasim Khan as Governor of Bengal. Kasim Khan complained to the Emperor that the Portuguese had drawn away all trade from Satgaon, that they were in league with pirates, and that they kidnapped children and other residents, forcibly made them Christians, and sent them as slaves to other Portuguese settlements in India. Shah Jahan ordered Kasim Khan to seize Hughli, which he did in 1632. Stewart, from whom the above account is summarized, says that the siege lasted for three and-a-half months, from June to October 1632. At least 1,000 Portuguese were killed in the siege, and 4,400 were taken prisoners. Out of 67 large vessels, 57 *grabs*, and 200 sloops, on the river, only one *grab* and two sloops escaped to Goa. The largest vessel, with 2,000 men, women, and children, who had taken refuge on board, was blown up by its Captain. Probably Shah Jahan, when he ordered the attack on Hughli, bore in mind the refusal of the Portuguese to help him when he was in need of aid. The numbers of the Portuguese in Hughli, as given by the native historians, must be greatly exaggerated, unless they include Native Christians. Even so, the numbers seem incredibly large. Their geography also is very incorrect.

It may be interesting to give an account of the capture of Hughli from the Musalman point of view. Elliot, in the "History of India told by its own Historians," gives two such accounts, both in Volume VII. The first of these (pp. 31—35) is from the *Badshahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, a writer of whom little is known, except that he was appointed by Shah Jahan to write an account of the events of his reign, which he did, for the first 20 years very fully. He died in 1654 A. D.:—

"Under the rule of the Bengalis (*dar ahd-i-Bengaliyan*), a party of Frank merchants, who are inhabitants of Sundip, came trading to Satgaun. One *kos* above that place, they occupied some ground on the bank of the estuary. Under the pretence that a building was necessary for their transactions in buying and selling, they erected several houses in the Bengali style. In course of time, through the ignorance or negligence of the rulers of Bengal, these Europeans increased in number, and erected large substantial buildings, which they fortified with canons, muskets, and other implements of war. In due course a considerable place grew up, which was known by the name of the port of Hughli. On one side of it was the river, and on the other three sides was a ditch filled from the river. European ships used to go up to the port, and a trade was established there. The markets of Satgaun declined and lost their prosperity. The villages and districts of Hughli were on both sides of the river, and these the Europeans got possession of at a low rent. Some of the inhabitants by force, and more by hope of gain, they infected with the Nazarene teaching, and sent them off in ships to Europe. In the hope of an everlasting reward, but in reality of exquisite torture, they consoled themselves with the profits of their trade for the loss of rent which arose from the removal of the cultivators. These hateful practices were not confined to the lands they occupied, but they seized and carried off every one they could lay their hands upon along the sides of the river.

"These proceedings had come to the notice of the Emperor before his accession, . . and he resolved to put an end to them if ever he ascended the throne, that the coinage might always have the stamp of the glorious dynasty, and the pulpit might be graced with its *khatba*. After his accession, he appointed Kasim Khan to the Government of Bengal, and . . impressed upon him the duty of overthrowing these mischievous people. He was ordered, as soon as he attended to the necessary duties of his extensive province, to set about the extermination of the pernicious intruders. Troops were to be sent both by water and by land, so that the difficult enterprise might be quickly and easily accomplished.

"Kasim Khan set about making his preparations, and at the close of the cold season in *Shaban*, 1240A.H., he sent his son Inayath-ulla with Allah Yar Khan, who was to be the real commander of the army, and several other nobles, to effect the conquest of Hugli. He also sent Bahadur Kamhu, an active, intelligent servant of his, with the force under his command, under the pretence of taking possession of the *khalisa* lands at Makhsusabad, but really, to join Allah Yar Khan at the proper time. Under the apprehension that the infidels, upon getting intelligence of the march of the army, would put their families on board ships, and so escape from destruction, to the disappointment of the warriors of Islam, it was given out that the forces were marching to attack Hijli. Accordingly it was arranged that Allah Yar Khan should halt at Burdwan, which lies in the direction of Hijli, until he received intelligence of Khwaja Sher and others, who had been ordered to proceed in boats from Sripur ⁽¹⁾ to cut off the retreat of the Firingis. When the fleet arrived at Mohana, which is a *dahna* ⁽²⁾ of the Hugli, Allah Yar Khan was to march with all expedition from Burdwan to Hugli, and fall upon the infidels. Upon being informed that Khwaja Sher and his companions had arrived at the *dahna*, Allah Yar Khan made a forced march from Burdwan, and in a night and a day reached the village of Huldipur ⁽³⁾ between Satgaun and Hugli. At the same time he was joined by Bahadur Kamhu, who arrived from Makhsusabad, with 500 horse and a large force of infantry. Then he hastened to the place where Khwaja Sher had brought the boats, and between Hugli and the sea, in a narrow part of the river, he formed a bridge of boats, so that ships could not get down to the sea; thus the flight of the enemy was prevented.

"On the 2nd *Zi-l-hijja*, 1241, the attack was made on the Firingis by the boatmen on the river, and by the forces on land. An inhabited place outside of the ditch was taken and plundered, and the occupants were slain. Detachments were then ordered to the villages and places on both sides of the river, so that all the Christians found there might be sent to hell. Having killed or captured all the infidels, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen who were all Bengalis. Four thousand boatmen, whom the Bengalis called *ghrabi*, then left the Firingis and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.

"The Royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place. Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a *lac* of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7,000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was posted were stripped of their branches and leaves.

"At length the besiegers sent their pioneers to work upon the ditch, just by the church, where it was not so broad and deep as elsewhere. There they dug channels and drew off the water. Mines were then driven on from the trenches, but two of these were discovered by the enemy

⁽¹⁾ Serampur (Elliot).

⁽²⁾ Query: Bengali *dahna*, a lake? (Elliot). *Dahana* is a Persian word meaning "the mouth of a river."

⁽³⁾ No such village as Haldipur now appears in the village directory of either Hugli or the 24 Parganas district. *Mohana*, in Bengali, means great flood.

and counteracted. The centre mine was carried under an edifice which was loftier and stronger than all the other buildings, and where a large number of Firingis were stationed. This was charged and tamped. On the 14th *Rabi-ul-awwal* the besiegers' forces were drawn up in front of this building, in order to allure the enemy to that part. When a large number were assembled, a heavy fire was opened, and the mine was fired. The building was blown up, and the many infidels who had collected around it were sent flying into the air. The warriors of Islam rushed to the assault. Some of the infidels found their way to hell by the water, but some thousands succeeded in making their way to the ships. At this juncture Khwaja Sher came up with the boats, and killed many of the fugitives.

"These foes of the faith were afraid lest one large ship, which had nearly 2,000 men and women, and much property on board, should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, so they fired the magazine and blew her up. Many others who were on board the *ghrabs* set fire to their vessels, and turned their faces towards hell. Out of the 64 large *dingas*, 57 *ghrabs*, and 200 *jaliyas*, one *ghrab* and two *jaliyas* escaped, in consequence of some fire from the burning ships having fallen upon some boats laden with oil, which burnt a way through [the bridge of boats]. Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned by water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom; 4,400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty."

A second account is given in the "*Muntakhabul lubar*" of Khafi Khan, generally known as the "*Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan*," or Khafi Khan's annals. The author, Muhammad Hashim, or Hashim Ali Khan, better known as Khafi Khan, was a man of good family, residing at Delhi, who privately compiled a minute register of all the events of Shah Jahan's reign, which he published some years after the monarch's death (Shah Jahan died in 1665, having been deposed in 1658 by his son, Aurangzeb).

Khafi Khan's account appears to be more or less copied from Abdul Hamid. It runs as follows:—

"The Feringis had formed a commercial settlement at Hugli, 20 *kos* from Rajmahal in Bengal. In former times they had obtained the grant of a parcel of land for the storing of their merchandize and for their abode. There they built a strong fort, with towers and walls, and furnished it with artillery. They also built a place of worship which they call church (*kalisa*). In course of time they overstepped the sufferance they had obtained. They vexed the Musalman of the neighbourhood, and they harassed travellers, and they exerted themselves continually to strengthen their settlement. Of all their odious practices this was the worst:—In the ports which they occupied on the sea-coast they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Muhammadans or Hindus who dwelt under their rule; but if one of these inhabitants died leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge and, whether these young children were *Saiyids*, or whether they were *Brahmans*, they made them Christians and slaves (*mamluk*). In the parts of the Kokan, in the Dakhin, and on the sea-coast, wherever they had forts and exercised authority, this was the custom of that insolent people. But notwithstanding the notoriety of this tyrannical practice, Musalmans and Hindus of all tribes went into their settlements in pursuit of a livelihood, and took up their abode there. They allowed no religious mendicant (*fakir*) to come into their bounds. When one found his way in unawares, if he were a Hindu he was subjected to such tortures as made his escape with life very doubtful, and if he were a Musalman he was imprisoned and worried for some days and then set at

liberty. When travellers passed in, and their baggage was examined, no leniency was shown if any tobacco was found, because there are regular licensed sellers of tobacco, and a traveller must not carry more than enough for his own use. Unlike a Hindu temple, their place of worship was very conspicuous, for tapers of camphor were kept burning there in the daytime. In accordance with their vain tenets, they had set up figures of our Lord Jesus and Mary (on our Prophet and on them be peace!), and other figures in wood, paint, and wax, with great gaudiness. But in the churches of the English, who are also Christians, there are no figures set up as idols. The writer of these pages has frequently gone into that place, and has conversed with their learned men, and records what he has observed.

"Reports of the unseemly practices of these people reached the Emperor, and when Kasim Khan was sent to Bengal as Governor, he received secret orders to suppress them, and to take their fortress. Kasim Khan accordingly proceeded to Hughli and laid siege to it. The detail of his skilful arrangements and strenuous exertions would be of great length; suffice it to say that, by the aid of boats, and by the advance of his forces both by land and water, he brought down the pride of these people, and subdued their fortress after a siege of three months. Nearly 50,000 *raiyats* of that place came out and took refuge with Kasim Khan. Ten thousand persons, *Firingis* and *raiyats*, perished in the course of the siege. Fourteen hundred *Firingis*, and a number of persons who had been made Christians by force, were taken prisoners. Nearly 10,000 people, innocent *raiyats* and captives of these people, were set free. More than a thousand Musalmans of the Imperial army fell in the course of the siege."

The name Bandel is simply a corruption of the word *bandar*, meaning wharf. The Portuguese had settled here before the close of the sixteenth century. Their church, the first Christian church in Bengal, was built in the year 1599. This church was destroyed in the siege of 1632. The Augustinians, who occupied the monastery attached, were from Goa, and were subject, not to the Vicar Apostolic, but to the Bishop of Meliapur; the Portuguese having always resisted the transfer of their ecclesiastical patronage to the hands of the Pope. To this day Bandel Church and its Prior, though there is no longer a monastery, are subject to the Bishop of Meliapur. Such of the Augustinians as survived the siege of 1632 were among the prisoners sent to Agra, where one of them, Father DeCruz, found favour with the Emperor, who offered to grant him any request he might make. The Father asked for his own liberty, and permission to return to Bengal, taking the surviving prisoners with him. Shah Jahan not only granted him this permission, but allowed him to rebuild the church, and even gave it an endowment of 777 *bighas* of rent-free lands. The original grant, Toynbee says, appears to have comprised all the foreshore from the present jail to the northern end of the compound of Bandel House. The church still holds about 380 *bighas* of rent-free land, yielding a rental of about Rs. 1,240. In 1797, the then Prior, on the strength of this grant of Shah Jahan's, claimed independent civil and criminal jurisdiction over all the *raiyats* of the Bandel lands, except in cases of murder. The claim, however, was not allowed by the British Government. The present church was erected by Mr. Soto in 1660. Near it used to stand a second church, the Church of Misericordia, with an orphanage attached. There was also a nunnery, and in 1723 mention is made of a College of Jesuits at Keota.

The fort, captured by Kasim Khan in 1632, stood much where the jail now stands. The foundations of two walls may still be seen at low tide, when the river is not high, jutting out from the bank, immediately in front of the jail, from ground which now forms part of the jail garden. These are supposed to be remains of the old Portuguese fort. This fort was surrounded by a moat, so deep and broad that Bruton, an English traveller, who visited the place in 1632, calls Hughli an island. The fort is said to have been betrayed by a Portuguese half-caste named DeMello. (*Calcutta Review*, Volume V, 1846. "The Portuguese in North India.") The Musalman accounts do not mention any betrayal.

Since 1632 the Portuguese can hardly be said to have a history in Hughli. They never subsequently asserted any claim to independence, and their descendants seem to have quietly sunk into the position of subjects, first of the Nawab of Bengal, afterwards of the English, differing little, if at all, from ordinary natives. So early as 1676 we find Mr. Clavell, in his account of the trade of Hughli, quoted in Chapter II of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer, saying that the Portuguese have no trade, and, though numerous, make a living chiefly as sepoy in the service of the Mogul Governor. Later we find them serving as sepoy under the English.

The Portuguese never had any regular settlement further inland than Hughli, but they had numerous small posts, which were practically little better than nests of pirates, all over the Sunderbans. The remains of one very fine station, with a large church, two-story masonry houses, and masonry bridges, may still be seen at Sibpur, in Bakirganj district, some seven miles south of Bakirganj police-station, and about thirty miles south of Barisal. Tarda, where Tolly's *nala* joins the Bidhiadhari river, some fifteen miles south-east of Alipur, was occupied by the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century, and remained a flourishing centre of trade for over a century before Calcutta existed.

Captain Alexander Hamilton, whose book was published in 1744, but describes Bengal in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the time when the author lived there, thus mentions Bandel:—

"The *Bandel*, at present, deals in no sort of Commodities, but what are in request at the Court of Venus, and they have a Church, where the Owners of such Goods and Merchandize are to be met with, and the Buyer may be conducted to proper Shops, where the Commodities may be seen and felt, and a Priest to be Security for the Soundness of the Goods."

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Bengal had settled down peacefully under the rule of the English, the settlements along the banks of the Hughli, from Rishra up to Bandel, were favourite holiday resorts of the Calcutta residents, both official and non-official. In those days, before the introduction of railways, it was impossible to go far on a short holiday, and the river-side towns, most of which could be reached in one tide by boat, took the place now occupied

by the hill stations. Among these holiday resorts Bandel was one of the most popular. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 5th August 1784 an anonymous writer published the following rhyming rhapsody in praise of Bandel:—

Come listen to me, whilst I tell,
In pleasing lines the objects fell,
There's Hughli mounted on a swell
Here the bank rises, there's a dell,
Water you'll find in many a well
No dirty roads or stinking smell
All bilious gloom you'll soon dispel
And nowhere meet with the pareil
'Tis fine to hear the Padre's bell
Would you be known to many a belle
Ask———who loves to dwell
Lives like a hermit in his cell
I thought to have found there Madame
Pelle
Each other place is hot as hell
I'm sure no argument can quell
I'll kick the rogue and make him yell
Had I ten houses, all I'd sell
Come let's away there; haste pellmel

The charms I found at fair Bandel
In prospect viewed from high Bandel
To improve the scenery round Bandel
A change peculiar to Bandel
That's clear and sweet about Bandel
Will e'er offend you at Bandel
By a short sejour at Bandel,
Of healthy air that's at Bandel.
Summon to vespers at Bandel.
Whose beauty charms you at Bandel,
And scribble verses at Bandel;
Scarce ever seen but at Bandel.
But she, alas, has left Bandel.

When breezes fan you at Bandel.
My furious penchant for Bandel
Who dares to censure dear Bandel
And live entirely at Bandel.
Each hour's a month at sweet Bandel

Bandel is now a notoriously unhealthy part of Hughli, a town which is by no means either pleasant or salubrious in the present day. There are now no European residents at Bandel.

The same authority, the *Calcutta Gazette*, mentions on 3rd September 1799, that Sir Robert Chambers, Judge of the Supreme Court, had gone "to spend the vacation at the pleasant and healthy settlement of Bandel." The services of Bandel Church seem to have attracted the Calcutta sight-seer at an early date, and the following advertisement, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 15th November 1804, shows that, even in those days, 'Arry was abroad:—

"Caution—Bandel, 10th November 1804. Every person present at Bandel Church while divine service is performing from the 15th to the 24th current, are requested to behave with every due respect as in their own churches; on the contrary, they shall be compelled to quit the temple immediately, without attending the quality of person."

Bandel Church stands between the river Hughli and the Hughli-Tribeni road, which at this place coincides with the Grand Trunk road for a distance of about half a mile. The church is about one mile north of the Hughli bazar, it stands immediately on the east of the road, and on the north bank of Bandel *khal*, with the buildings of the monastery between it and the river. To reach the church, one has to go along the southern and eastern sides of the buildings, and enter through the gate of the monastery on the river side of the block. Over this gate is a stone, with the date 1599, the date of the foundation of the original church, which was destroyed during the siege of Hughli in 1632. The stone

with the date was subsequently found, and was utilized when the new church and monastery were erected by Gomez de Soto, in 1660. This gentleman is said to be buried in the precincts. The church stands north and south, the altar, like that of the Dutch church, being at the north end. At the western corner of the southern end is a low tower, south of which is a pointed arch, in a niche under this arch is a statue of the Virgin and Child, "Our Lady of Happy Voyage." Above the statue is the following inscription:—

"The old tower was destroyed by earthquake on 12th June 1897. The new tower was built by Rev. P. M. da Silva, Prior of the Bandel Church, by subscriptions raised by him, November 1897."

Beneath the statue is a model of a full-rigged ship. In the small enclosure, south of the church, stands the mast of an old Portuguese ship, said to have been set up in 1655, as a thank-offering for escape from a storm, by the captain of a ship, the name of which has not been preserved.

The monastery used to be occupied by Augustinian friars, the last of whom died in 1869. There is now in charge only a Parish Priest, who, however, still retains the title of Prior. The church is under the Bishop of Meliapur, and the Archbishop of Goa.

Inside the Church there are several old tombstones and memorial tablets, three of which are worthy of quotation. In the oldest, the Portuguese name da Silva is curiously translated into Latin as "ex Sylva":—

- (i) "*Hic jacet Elizabeth ex Sylva, in Mailapurensi Civitate Divi Thomae orta, et ex honestis Lusitanisque patribus oriunda, quae labore et infirmitate oppressa, ex bello Anglis amauris* illato, obiit loco Chinsura die 21 Novembris anno Christiano 1756, aetatis suae 22 annum pertingens—Requiescat in pace.*"
- (ii) "The last Prior of the monastery, Father Joseph Gomez. "*Hujus conventus prior et Romanae Catholicae in Bengala missionis circiter 24 annos superior.*"
- (iii) "Mrs. Elizabeth Bourrillon, died 2 March 1887, aged 100 years."

In November of each year the Novena festival of our Lady of Happy Voyage is celebrated at this church, many people coming from Calcutta to attend it.

Bandel is now known chiefly for its cream cheese.

3. *The English, early settlement, and history of Hughli, up to 1760.*—The first dawn of the East India Company appears in a memorial presented by certain English merchants to the Lords in Council in October 1589, asking for the Queen's license for three ships to trade with the East Indies. The desired license

* The word carved on the tombstone is *amauris*, as given in the text, but evidently should have been "*a Mauris*"—"the war brought on the English by the Moors," or Musalmans. The date of Elizabeth da Silva's death, five months after the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal, while the English were still refugees at Fulta, supports this view.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of 7th December 1797 states that Mrs. Louisa Souris died recently at Bandel in her 100th year.

was granted, and in 1591 Captain Raymond sailed for India with three ships, the *Royal Merchant*, the *Susan*, and the *Edward*. The "Association of Merchant Adventurers" was formed in 1599, and elected Directors on 23rd September 1600. Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to this Association, under the name of the "London East India Company," on 31st December 1600. Only four years later we hear of the first "Interloper," Sir Edward Michelborne, who sailed under a license from James I, in 1604. On 31st May 1609, King James granted a charter to the Company. The first port at which the English began to trade in the end of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth century, was Surat. It was from Surat that Sir Thomas Roe, who sailed in March 1615 as Ambassador from James I to Jahangir, started on his journey up-country. He got back to England in 1619.

On 12th December 1635 a license to trade with the East was granted to Sir William Courten, and a second grant was issued to "Courten's Association" in June 1637. Their fleet was commanded by Captain Weddel. In 1649 Courten's Association became the "Assada Merchants," trading to Africa and India, though Courten's license had been revoked in 1639. In 1654 the Assada Merchants partly united with the East India Company as the "Merchant Adventurers," and in 1657-58 the amalgamation became complete. The United Company got a fresh license from Charles II on 3rd April 1661. This Company remained unopposed till 1698. On the 3rd September of that year a license was granted to a new Company, under the name of "The English Company trading to the East Indies," the old Company being called "The London Company," and receiving notice that their charter would come to an end on 29th September 1701. The new Company ordered the establishment of factories at Hughli, Kasimbazar, Balasore, Dakka, and Malda, in Bengal; Hughli being their head-quarters in that province. The Presidents of their settlements were also appointed King's Consuls for their various stations. Subsequently, by a charter of 11th April 1700, the old Company's permission to trade was extended until the Government should have paid off a sum of £2,000,000, which the Company had advanced. And finally, on 27th April 1702, the two Companies amalgamated under the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

In giving the above short summary of the history of the East India Company, which is chiefly taken from Bruce's "Annals of the East India Company," we have far overshot the original settlement at Hughli. For the early history of this settlement I am indebted chiefly to Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal;" partly to "Hedges' Diary," as edited for the Hakluyt Society by Colonel Yule, and to Stewart's "History of Bengal."

After the capture of the Portuguese Fort at Hughli by the Musalman Governor, Kasim Khan, in 1632, Hughli was made the Royal Port of Bengal. All public offices and officers were removed to Hughli from Satgaon, which

rapidly fell into decay. It was about this time that the English first visited Bengal. In March 1633 John Norris, the East India Company's Agent at Masulipatam, sent a party of eight, of whom Ralph Cartwright was Chief, to Orissa, where they landed at Harishpur and travelled to Cuttack. One of the party was William Bruton, quarter-master of the *Hopewell* East Indiaman, who wrote an account of their journey. The Nawab or Viceroy of Orissa, Agha Muhamad Zaman, gave permission to the English to trade in his province. Under this permission factories were established in 1633 at Balasore and Hariharapur.

In 1638 the English received a *farman*, permitting them to trade in Bengal, from the Emperor Shah Jahan. It is this *farman* which is usually associated with the name of Surgeon Gabriel Boughton. Boughton, however, was sent from Surat to Agra in 1645. He could not have had anything to do with the grant of the Emperor's *farman* seven years before. From Agra Boughton went to Rajmahal, with the Emperor's son, Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal. He was in high favour at the Court of Rajmahal for his professional skill. Whether he ever really did anything for the Company is doubtful. Certainly they had high hopes of Court favour, through Boughton's influence. The last mention of Boughton as a living person is in a letter from the Council at Masulipatam, dated 25th February 1650 (old style, i.e., 1651 new style), to Mr. James Bridgman, Chief at Balasore, in which they direct that some presents should be sent to him at Rajmahal. In 1657 he was dead, and his widow had married William Pitts, a servant of the Company, stationed at Hughli. She was then making claims on the Company on account of Boughton's services. (Hedges' Diary, Vol. III, p. 188.) Bruce states (Annals of the East India Company, Vol. I, p. 463) that Shah Jahan gave the English a *farman* (*nishan*) in 1651-52. The original document was lost by Mr. Waldegrave in a journey overland from Bengal to Madras. This was known in England by 31st December 1757. A copy of the *nishan* is dated 1656, but if it was only granted in 1656, the loss, and knowledge of the loss in England, seems very quick. On the whole it seems probable that this *farman* was granted through Boughton's influence. The legend of the grant to Boughton was current within twenty years of his death. (Hedges' Diary, Vol. III, p. 183.)

Fort St. George was founded in 1640, at Madraspatam, by Mr. Thomas Day, factor of Masulipatam. The same Mr. Day went from Masulipatam to Balasore in 1642, and recommended that a permanent factory should be set up there. In 1650 Captain John Brookhaven, of the *Lyonesse*, was sent to Bengal to establish a factory at Hughli. From Balasore James Bridgman was sent to Hughli as Chief, with a Mr. Stephens as second, and two assistants, William Blake and Taylor; the two latter received £5 a year each. Their orders were to trade especially in Peter (saltpetre), sugar, and silk. Bridgman left the Company's service in 1653, Stephens died at Kasimbazar in 1654, Blake deserted.

Colonel Yule, in Hedges' Diary, Vol. III, pp. 194-95, gives the dates of the establishment of the Company's factories in Bengal as follows:—

Balasore, January 1651 (occasionally occupied since 1642).

Hughli, January 1651.

Kasimbazar, 1659 (occasionally occupied since 1653).

Patna, 1659 (an attempt made *viâ* Agra, in 1620).

Dakka, 1668.

Malda, 1676.

In 1657 the Madras Council determined to withdraw altogether from Bengal. This resolution, fortunately, was never carried out. In 1658 the Hughli Council consisted of George Gawton, Chief, on £100 a year; the second place, at first left vacant, was subsequently filled by Jonathan Trevisa, the other members were Mathias Halstead, William Ragdale, and Thomas Davies. Agents were also appointed for Balasore (Hopkins); Kasimbazar (Kenn); and Patna (Chamberlain); each with three assistants, among whom was Job Charnock, who was appointed fourth at Kasimbazar.

In 1658 Aurangzeb deposed and succeeded his father, Shah Jahan. Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, made a bid for the throne, was defeated, fled to Arakan, and was there murdered. This Prince has left his name here and there in Bengal. Shah Shuja's *bund*, an embankment or fortification running from the Monghyr hills to the Ganges, may still be seen, where the East Indian Railway Loop line crosses it, three or four miles west of Kajra station. And the remains of a mud fort, Shujabad, which he constructed and occupied for some time during his flight, may still be traced, some seven or eight miles west of Barisal. After Shah Shuja's defeat and flight, Mir Jumla was appointed by Aurangzeb as Viceroy of Bengal. In 1658, the Governor of Hughli, for the Viceroy, insisted on the English making an annual *peshkash*, or payment, of Rs. 3,000, in lieu of customs. The English disputed their liability. So the Viceroy, Mir Jumla, seized at Rajmahal all the English boats, coming down from Patna, laden with saltpetre. Jonathan Trevisa, who had succeeded Gawton as Chief at Hughli in September 1658, retaliated by seizing a native vessel, in 1661. Mir Jumla threatened to destroy the out-agencies, to seize the English settlement at Hughli, and to expel them from the country. Under orders from Madras, Trevisa apologized, and restored the boat he had taken. He was forgiven, but the payment of Rs. 3,000 a year was enforced. Mir Jumla died at Dakka on 30th March 1663, and was succeeded by Shaista Khan. In the same year, Trevisa was superseded by William Blake, his former assistant, who was directed to call to account all the Company's servants in Bengal, "for all actions which hath passed since their being in the Bay."

The new charter, given by Charles II in 1661, granted to the Company the whole trade with the East Indies for ever, and ordered that no person

should trade thither without their license. They were empowered to seize unlicensed persons, to erect fortifications, to raise troops, and to make war upon non-Christians. The King also granted to the Governors and Councils of the several settlements authority "to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor or Company, or that should live under them, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of the kingdom, and to execute judgment accordingly." In effect, this charter for the first time introduced British law into India.

Between 1662 and 1667 the Company proposed that Balasore should be abandoned, and that all English vessels should go direct to Hughli. In 1662 Captain Elliot had offered to take his ship up to Hughli, but was forbidden to do so by Agent Trevisa, who considered the risk too great. For many years subsequently no Captain was willing to take the risk of sailing his vessel up an unsurveyed river; but all ships from England terminated their voyage at Balasore, where their cargoes were transhipped into smaller vessels, loading for Europe again in the same way. In 1667 the Court built a small vessel, called the *Diligence*, for survey purposes. In 1668 they ordered all Commanders to take soundings and make surveys; and sent out six apprentices to learn to pilot ships up the river. From these beginnings sprang the Hughli pilot service. The first of these apprentices, George Herron, drew up the first printed instructions for piloting ships up the river, and also the earliest chart of any accuracy. The first ship which actually sailed up to Hughli was the *Falcon*, Captain Stafford, in 1679.

Streyntsham Master was sent out from England to reorganize the Bengal settlements. This officer was born on 28th October 1640, proceeded to India in April 1656, and joined the Surat Factory. In 1675 he was appointed Governor of Madras, and reached Fort St. George on 7th July 1676, and immediately went on to Bengal, reaching Balasore at the end of August, Hughli on 13th September, and Murshidabad on 25th September 1676. There were then three chief factories in Bengal—at Balasore, Hughli, and Kasimbazar, with smaller ones at Patna, Singhia in Saran, and Dakka. Master decided that Hughli should be the chief factory in Bengal. His letter to the Court of Directors, conveying this decision, is dated 1st November 1675 (old style, *i.e.*, really 1676), and runs as follows:—

"The Councell having taken into Consideration and debate which of the places, HUGHLY or BALLASORE, might be most proper and convenient for the residence of the Chiefe and Councell in the BAY, Did resolve and conclude that Hugly was the most fitting place, notwithstanding the Europe ships doe unloade and take in their ladeing in BALLASORE roade, HUGLY being the Key or Scale of BENGALA, where all goods pass in and out to and from all parts, and being near the center of the Company's business is more commodious for receiving of advices from and issuing of orders to, all subordinate ffactories.

"Wherefore it is thought convenient that the Chiefe and Councell of the BAY doe reside at HUGLY, and upon the dispatch of the Europe ships, the Chiefe and the Councell, or some of them

(as shall be thought Convenient) doe yearly goe downe to BALLASORE see well to expedite the dispatch of the ships as to make inspection into the affaires of BALLASORE ffactory. And the Councill did likewise Conclude that it was requisite a like inspection should be yearly made into the affaires in the ffactory at CASSAMBAZAR the Hon^{ble} Company's principall concernes of sales and investments in the BAY lyeing in these two places, and the expence of such visitation will be very small, by reason of conveniency of travelling in these countreys by land or water." (Hedges' Diary, Vol. II, p. 236).

Clayell was then Chief of Bengal, but died in 1677, and was succeeded by Matthias Vincent. Master was superseded by Gifford at Madras on 3rd July 1681. He was knighted by King William III on 14th December 1698, and died on 28th April 1724. There were then no decorations or orders for Indian officials, but the honour of knighthood seems to have been pretty freely bestowed on the Company's servants.

About this time the town of Hughli extended for about two miles along the west bank of the Hughli river, between Chinsura on the south, and Bandel on the north. The Mogul Fort stood on the river bank, and occupied the space from about where the Jubilee Bridge now crosses the river, to the *khal* north of the old courts, which formed its northern moat. A little south of the Mogul Fort, for the space of 300 yards, a small indentation in the river bank gave rise to an eddy, or whirlpool, whence the Bengalis called the place *Golghat*, or the whirlpool. On this indentation the English factory stood. In 1676 Master gave orders for the erection of a better factory. (It was probably through confusion between the two names, Golghat and Kalikata, that the theory arose that the name Calcutta is a corruption of Golgotha, or the place of a skull, and that this name was given to the English capital on account of its great mortality. Early French writers sometimes use the name Golgothe for Calcutta.)

At this time the Governing body at Hughli consisted of four members—(1) the Agent, who was Chief of all the factories in the Bay; (2) the Accountant; (3) the Store-keeper; and (4) the Purser Marine. Next in order of rank came the Secretary. The Chaplain, when there was one, ranked third, next after the Accountant, and the Surgeon sixth, after the Purser Marine. Eighth in order was the Steward. Then came the general body of merchants, factors, writers, and apprentices. The Agent originally got £100 a year, subsequently raised to £200, *plus* £100 gratuity. The Chaplain got £100, the Surgeon £36, factors £20 to £40, Writers only £10 yearly.

In 1677 the Company for the first time appointed a Chaplain for the settlements in the Bay. The Revd. John Evans, Curate of Thistleworth, now Isleworth, was chosen for the post, and arrived at Hughli in 1678. At this time there appears to have been a chapel at Hughli. Mr. Evans remained at Hughli till 1689, when he was transferred to Madras. In 1692 he was dismissed, having attended more to his private trading concerns than to his spiritual duties. He afterwards became a D.D., and in 1701 was appointed

Lord Bishop of Bangor. The only other chaplain stationed at Hughli in the seventeenth century was Mr. Thomas Clark, who was sent out by the new Company in 1698, when they occupied Hughli, but died within two months of his arrival.

In 1682 the Company made the Bengal settlements independent of Madras, and appointed as the first independent Governor William Hedges, a member of the Court of Directors at home. He sailed on 28th January 1682, and reached Hughli on 24th July. He only held office for two years, being superseded on 30th August 1684 by George Gifford, the Governor of Madras, Bengal being again made subordinate to Madras, and John Beard, the third in Council, succeeding Hedges as Governor of Bengal. Hedges was born at Coole, in County Cork, on 21st October 1632. He was a feeble Governor, weak and suspicious, and seems to have spent most of his time in quarrelling with Job Charnook, who was not only a man of much more force of character than himself, but also appears to have been the only servant of the Company in India who was ever trusted by the Court of Directors at home in this century. Hedges suggested building a fort on Sagar Island. He also did one great service to the Company, in convincing them that they "must trust to their hands to keep their heads," *i.e.*, that they must fortify their settlements, and not rely on the friendship or support of the Mogul Government. He remained at Hughli until Christmas 1684, when he sailed in the *Recovery* for the Persian Gulf, and came home overland. His first wife died in child-birth at Hughli on 6th July 1683. After his return home, he was knighted by James II on 6th March 1688. He died in 1701. He left a most interesting diary, which came to light in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and was edited for the Hakluyt Society by Colonel Yule in 1887—89.

Job Charnook, the greatest of the Company's servants in the seventeenth century in Bengal, came out to India in 1655 or 1656, and never saw his native country again. In 1658 he was appointed fourth in Council at Kasimbazar. In 1664 he became Chief at Patna, and remained there till 1680, when he was made Chief at Kasimbazar, and second in Council in the Bay, with the right of succession to Vincent, the Chief. He was, however, twice superseded—first by Hedges, and secondly by Beard. In 1685 he was almost at open war with the Nawab at Kasimbazar, the factory being watched to prevent his escape. He did, however, escape in April 1686, and reached Hughli safely. There he took over the command, Beard having in the meantime died.

In 1686 occurred the first serious quarrel between the English settlers in Bengal and the Mogul Government, the beginning of the struggle which was finally ended, seventy-one years later, at Palasi (Plassey). In that year, 1686, the Company sent out a fleet of six ships, each with one company of soldiers

on board; but only three reached India—the *Beaufort*, Captain John Nicholson, 70 guns, 300 men; the *Nathaniel*, Captain John Mason, 50 guns, 150 men; and the *Rochester*, 65 guns. Nicholson commanded the whole. Charnock was appointed Colonel of the troops. The ships reached Bengal late in 1686. The total number of the Company's troops at Hughli and Chandarnagar, including these reinforcements, was under 400, English and Portuguese. The Nawab of Bengal sent 2,000 foot and 300 horse to Hughli. When they arrived, the Governor of Hughli, Abdul Gam, set up a battery of eleven guns to command the English shipping in the "hole" or harbour, and forbade the English soldiers to buy victuals in the market. On 28th October 1686, three English soldiers, going into the market to buy food, in contravention of the above order, were not only refused food, but were set upon, beaten, and taken prisoners to the Governor's house. A company of soldiers, under Captain Leslie, was sent out to rescue them, but failed, the enemy, when beaten back, setting fire to the thatched huts round the English factory, and firing on the English ships in the harbour. The detachment from Chandarnagar then came up, under Captain Arbuthnot, took the battery, and also the house of the Governor, who fled in a boat. The total English loss was two killed, and several wounded; the enemy lost 60 killed and many wounded. The Governor then, through the Dutch, asked for an armistice, to which Charnock agreed. On 20th December 1686 Charnock withdrew from Hughli, taking with him all the effects of the English, and their saltpetre, to Sutanuti. On 11th February 1687 the English took the Nawab's forts at Thana, where the Botanical Gardens now are, and demolished them, after fruitless negotiations with Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal. They then withdrew to Balasore, and seized Hijli, which the Commandant, Malik Kasim, deserted without resistance. In May, Abdul Samad, the Nawab's General, arrived at Hijli, and attacked the English, at first with much success, the place being very malarious, and scarcely 100 of the English being alive and fit for duty. On 1st June 1687 a reinforcement of 70 men, under Captain Denham, arrived from Europe. Abdul Samad offered to treat, and on 10th June the English evacuated Hijli, taking away all their stores and property, and went to Ulubaria. In September 1687 the Nawab, Shaista Khan, offered to let the English return to Hughli, and they went to Sutanuti for the second time. Meanwhile the Directors sent out Captain Heath of the *Defence*, with a fleet of 10 or 11 ships, to conduct the operations against the Nawab. Charnock and the English remained at Sutanuti for over twelve months, till orders were received from the Nawab, prohibiting them from building at Sutanuti, demanding compensation for the native losses in the fighting, and ordering them to return to Hughli. Captain Heath arrived on 20th September 1688. By this time Shaista Khan had left Bengal, and had been succeeded by Bahadur Khan. On 8th November 1688 Heath withdrew all the English from Sutanuti to Balasore, where he attacked

and sacked the native town. Heath thence went to Chatgam (Chittagong), but, finding the place too strong, did not attack it, and finally, on 17th February 1689, withdrew all the English with him from Bengal to Madras, the English in the factories up-country being left to their fate. They were, however, merely taken prisoners, not killed. In 1689 Bahadur Khan was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan, an old Patna friend of Charnock's, who released all his prisoners, and, under orders from Aurangzeb, invited Charnock and the English to return to Bengal. This they did, reaching Sutanuti for the third time on Sunday, 24th August 1690, at noon. This date may be taken as that of the foundation of Calcutta. Two men, Stanley and Mackrith, were sent forward to reoccupy Hughli, but were again withdrawn to Calcutta a few days later. On 10th February 1691 an imperial order was issued, under the seal of Asad Khan, allowing the English to "contentedly continue their trade" in Bengal, on payment of Rs. 3,000 yearly in lieu of all dues.

Charnock's selection of Calcutta, in preference to Hughli, as the chief English settlement, was due to no mere chance, but was deliberately made, for good reasons. The site chosen was defended from Mahratta incursions from the west by the Hughli river. On the east the Salt Lakes, which then reached to where the Circular Road now runs, formed an efficient protection against any invasion on that side. South lay the Sundarbans. It was practically only accessible by land from the north, in which direction a road, or rather path, ran to Kasimbazar. It was at a fair distance from Hughli, the chief Mogul settlement in Southern Bengal, 25 miles by river; not too far for easy access and intercourse, not near enough for a sudden surprise. Lastly, Calcutta was 25 miles nearer the mouth of the river than Hughli, and so was easier of access to the Indiamen which carried the English trade.

In July 1698 Azimash-Shan, grandson of Aurangzeb, and Governor of Bengal, for the sum of Rs. 16,000, granted to the English letters patent allowing them to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages, Kalikata, Sutanuti, and Gobindpur. Both the purchase of the *zamindari* of Calcutta, and the building of old Fort William, were carried out by Charles Eyre, who completed five years' tenure of office on 1st February 1699, handed over charge to John Beard II, and left for England. Eyre was knighted on reaching England, Bengal was again made a separate Presidency in 1700, and Eyre was appointed as Governor for a second time, and arrived on 26th May 1700. Considering the length of the voyage in those days, he must have been a very short time in England. He only remained in India in this second term as Governor, for a few months, and left for home again on 7th January 1701, again handing over charge to John Beard the younger.

The three villages which went to make up the English settlement of Calcutta were situated as follows: Sutanuti *Haat* (the Cotton-bale market) where the north-western part of the native town of Calcutta now stands, north of

the Mint; Kalikata extended from the present Mint to the Post Office; Gobindpur lay where modern Fort William now stands. Old Fort William was built in Kalikata, where the Custom House now stands.

Job Charnock, the founder of the city, died in Calcutta on 10th January 1693. His tomb may still be seen in the north-western corner of the grounds of St. John's Church. It is a small hexagonal building. His epitaph runs as follows:—

"D. O. M. Jobus Charnock Armig'. Anglus et nuper in hoc Regno Bengalensi Dignissim Anglorū Agens. Mortalitatis suæ exuvias sub hoc marmore deposuit ut in spe beata resurrectionis Christi Judicis adventum obdormirent. Qui postquam in solo non suo peregrinatus esset diu reversus est domum suam æternitatis decimo die Januarii 1692."

The date on the tomb is given according to the old style, which would make it 1693, by our modern method of computation. In the same building are stones with the epitaphs of Charnock's two daughters, and of a third lady, Mrs. Cumley; also that of the famous Surgeon William Hamilton. Charnock was succeeded as Governor by Francis Ellis, but on 12th August 1693 Sir John Goldsborough arrived at Calcutta, from Madras, as Chief Governor, and superseded Ellis by Charles Eyre. Goldsborough died in November 1693.

In carrying on the history of Calcutta for a few years from its foundation in 1690, we have rather got ahead of that of Hughli. After the removal of the Company's head-quarters from Hughli to Calcutta in 1690, the former station appears to have been occupied by a colony of interlopers, the best known of whom was Thomas Pitt. He is mentioned as interloping at Hughli in 1675, 1682, and again in 1693. He left Bengal for good in 1693, but returned to India in 1697 as Governor of Madras, having in the meantime sat in the House of Commons as member for Old Sarum. He held this Governorship till September 1709, when he was removed, and left for England in October of the same year. Thomas Pitt was born in 1653, and died on 28th April 1726. He imported from Madras to Europe the famous stone known first as the "Pitt diamond," and afterwards as the "Regent diamond." His eldest son Robert became the father of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, (1708—1766), who was the father of William Pitt, the "Great Commoner" (1759—1806). Thomas Pitt's second son, Colonel Thomas Pitt, became Baron Londonderry in 1719, Earl in 1726; and his daughter Lucy married General James Stanhope, created Earl Stanhope in 1718.

In 1696 occurred Subha Sinh's rebellion. This leader, a *samindar* of Burdwan, rebelled, and joined forces with Rahim Khan, an Afghan chief from Orissa. The two advanced on Bardwan, slew the Raja, Krishna Ram, in action, and captured his property and all his family, except one son, Jagat Rai, who escaped to Dakka, and asked for help from the Viceroy of Bengal, Nawab Ibrahim Khan, who, however, did not move. The rebels then took the Mogul Fort at Hughli. The European settlements, seeing that they must

depend on themselves, raised bodies of troops, and asked permission to fortify their factories. The Nawab in general terms ordered them to defend themselves. Under the permission thus given were erected old Fort William in Calcutta, Fort Gustavus at Ohinsura, and Fort Orleans at Chandarnagar. Not a vestige now remains of these three forts, though little more than 200 years has elapsed since they were built. Krishna Ram's daughter killed Subha Sinh, leaving Rahim Khan sole commander of the rebels. He took successively Murshidabad, Rajmahal, Malda, and the Thana forts, and by March 1697 had made himself master of all Bengal west of the Ganges, except the European forts. On hearing of this, Aurangzeb recalled Ibrahim Khan, appointing as Viceroy of Bengal Azimash-Shan, his grandson, second son of his eldest son, Shah Alam. Ibrahim Khan's son, Zabardast Khan, was ordered to attack the rebels, and in May 1697 completely defeated Rahim Khan near Rajmahal. Shortly after, Azimash-Shan came to Bardwan, where he remained for some months, and while there caused the northern suburb of Hughli, north of Bandel, called after him Shahganj, to be built, though it does not appear that he himself visited Hughli.

In 1698, as stated above, the "New Company" was formed in opposition to the Old, or "London Company." The New Company at once sent Sir William Norris as Ambassador to Aurangzeb; he was not, however, successful in getting any special advantages for his employers. They fixed upon Hughli, abandoned twelve years before by the Old Company, as the head-quarters of their settlements in Bengal, and sent out, as their first President in Bengal, and Agent in the Bay, Sir Edward Littleton. The new Governor had been a factor in the service of the Old Company from 1671 to 25th January 1682, when he was dismissed. The New and the Old Company amalgamated in 1702, but the factory of the former at Hughli was not finally abandoned till 1704, when the officers were all withdrawn to Calcutta. The English factory at Hughli appears to have been more or less kept up as a place of occasional resort from Calcutta, but from this date until they had made themselves masters of Bengal, the English had no permanent settlement at Hughli. In this year, 1704, an officer named Mir Ibrahim was the *Faujdar*, or Mogul Governor, of Hughli.

Aurangzeb died on 4th March 1707, and Upper India was at once plunged into a welter of bloodshed by the rival claimants of the crown. His son Azam seized the throne, but his elder brother, Shah Alam, coming down from Kabul, of which province he was Governor, defeated and killed Azam at the battle of Jaju on 10th June 1707. In 1708 Shah Alam defeated and killed his other brother, Kam Baksh. Azimash-Shan, Governor of Bengal, who was the second son of Shah Alam, went to help his father, leaving Murshid Kuli Khan as his deputy in Bengal. In 1710 Farakh-Siyar, son of Azimash-Shan, was acting as Deputy Governor of Bengal.

In 1710 Zainudin Khan, Lord High Steward of the Emperor's household, a friend of the English, received the appointments of Governor of Hughli and Admiral of the Bay, his Governorship being independent of that of Bengal. He is usually called Zoodee Khan in the records. He reached Hughli in May 1710, and exchanged visits with the President and Council in Calcutta. In 1711 Murshid Kuli Khan again appears as Deputy Governor of Bengal, for Azimash-Shan, who was still in Upper India, and in fact never returned to Bengal, Murshid Kuli Khan retaining the appointment, first of Deputy Governor, then of Governor and Viceroy, of Bengal, until his death in 1725. In September 1711 Zainudin Khan was superseded as Governor of Hughli by Wali Beg, and the *Faujdar* of Hughli again became subordinate to the Bengal Viceroyalty. Zainudin, however, declined to accept his dismissal, but remained at or near Hughli. He raised a large force, avowed himself a partizan of Azimash-Shan and Farakh-Siyar, and in July 1712 was ready to attack his successor, Wali Beg, who asked for help from the English. Russell, the Governor of Calcutta, twice attempted to mediate between the parties. There does not seem to have been any actual fighting, but the quarrel remained unsettled till April 1713, when Zainudin Khan informed the English that he had been appointed by the new Emperor, Farakh-Siyar, Treasurer of the Coromandel Coast, and asked them to help him to join his new appointment. They gave him Rs. 1,200, and lent him two small barges, with which he departed for Patna, not the most direct way from Hughli to the Coromandel Coast.

Shah Alam, *alias* Bahadur Shah, died on 17th February 1712, and the bloody contest for the throne began over again. His eldest son, Jahandar Shah, seized the crown, defeating the second son, Azimash-Shan, the nominal Governor of Bengal, who was drowned in the Ravi in his flight from the field, on 7th March 1712. Azimash-Shan's eldest son, Muhamad Karim, was killed a few days later. Jahan Shah, the third, and Rafiash Shan, the fourth son of Shah Alam, were killed in action on 15th March. Farakh-Siyar, the second son of Azimash-Shan, who was in Bengal, then struck for the throne for himself. At Christmas 1712 he defeated Jahandar Shah near Agra, and a few days later that prince and his general, Zulfikar Khan, were killed, and Farakh-Siyar ascended the throne.

Khafi Khan, the author of the *Muntakhabul-lubbar*, whose account of the capture of the Portuguese Fort of Hughli in 1632 I have already quoted, states that Europeans were present at some of the battles of these civil wars. Describing the fighting between Kam Baksh and Shah Alam in 1708, he says:—

"Kam Baksh and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to Khuld Manzil, and placed near the royal tent. European and Greek Surgeons were appointed to attend them." (Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 407).

The Greek Surgeons probably were native practitioners of the Yunani system of medicine.

An ambassador from the Persian Court to the Emperor of Delhi reached Calcutta on 30th August 1712, remained there till November 18th, and then went to Hughli, where he stayed till April 1713, when he left for Delhi.

Farakh-Siyar being firmly seated on the throne, the Company resolved to send him an Embassy, with rich presents. This was the famous Embassy of Surman and Hamilton, during the course of which William Hamilton, by curing the Emperor of a disorder, probably hydrocele, which had prevented his marriage, obtained from him liberty of trade, duty free, in Bengal, for the Company. This mission started for Delhi in April 1714. Its members were John Surman, factor in command; Edward Stephenson, factor; William Hamilton, surgeon; Hugh Barker and Thomas Phillips, writers; with an Armenian merchant, Khwaja Sarhad, as general adviser. They got back in November 1717, after an absence of three and-a-half years, and were received with great pomp at Tribeni by the President, Robert Hedges, and four of the Council, Messrs. Page, Browne, Spencer, and Collett; costly presents being made to the Mogul officers of the Court who had accompanied them. Hamilton got back to Calcutta only in time to die, which he did on the 9th December 1717.

Meanwhile the Company's factory at Hughli seems to have been gradually falling into ruin. In September 1710 William Spencer, one of the Company's writers, was sent to Hughli, with orders to repair the Company's house there, and to remain in it till further orders from the Council. In May 1711 Spencer reports that the house will fall, if not repaired, and is ordered to repair it. In April 1713 Mr. Eyre and Gunner Cooke are ordered to estimate what it will cost to repair the house at Hughli. They reported that to repair the house would cost as much as it was worth, and that the site was also likely to be carried away by the river. It does not appear what action, if any, was taken on this report, but in September 1717 another officer, named Mason, was ordered to survey and report on the house and made a report much the same as the last. Accordingly orders were given to dismantle the house, and to build "a small house there for the Accommodation of so many Persons as we have frequent occasion to send at one time on the Company's Service to Hugly."

In the Consultations of 18th January 1717 appears the following minute:—

"Mr. Thomas Cooke having had a severe fit of Sickness which seized him at Hugly, when sent up to weigh and receive Salt Petre from the Merchants it was bought off, which Sickness kept him long there in great danger of his Life and being under the Necessity of seeking relief from the Dutch Doctor and such other Physicians as resided at Hugly, because we could not spare any from here to attend him, He was at 45 Rupees 12 Annos charge upon that Account which is not unreasonable. Therefore Agreed That that Sum be paid him by Mr. John Dean Buxey and Charged in his Account of Generall Charges."

The above extract, as well as most of the preceding information, are taken from Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal." In the same work is quoted the following extract from a paper entitled "The adventures of a person unknown, who came to Calcutta in the Government of Mr. Russel, and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley" (Vol. II, p. 385-6). The date is about December 1712:—

"Golgatt, an English factory subordinate under Calcutta is seated in the City of Hugley on the banks of the river, it here forming itself into a Cove, being deep water ships riding 16 and 18 fathom not a stones cast off shore; being landed and ascended the bank you enter the factory through a large gate beautified and adorned with pillars and cornishes in the Chanam work, and on the top of all is the flag staff fixed into the brickwork whereon they hoist St. George's flag; being entered the gate you come into a small Court yard, on the right hand being a row of apartments, and on the left a Viranda for the guard; you ascend into the house by steps, having under it two square cellars with staircases to descend; the hall is indifferent large, besides two indifferent apartments with chimneys; there are other rooms and closets in the house, the whole consisting but of one storey.

"Behind the house is a garden in which grows nothing but weeds, in the middle is an ugly well, and at one corner upon the wall is built a round sort of a business like a sentry box, but much larger, you ascend it by a narrow Chenum staircase, which have no rails or fence to keep you from tumbling into the garden, and when entered you see nothing worth observation having a door but never a window though it yields an excellent echo, it being contrived as I have been informed as a magazine for powder.

"At the end of the garden are the ruins of several apartments, the roofs being fallen in, and indeed all the out-houses are in the like condition, of which there are several, you may ascend to the top of the factory by an old wooden staircase which is well terrac'd with seats all round and a small oblong place included by itself, from whence you have a prospect of the river: to conclude it is an old, ugly, ill-contrived edifice wherein is not the least spark of beauty, form, or order, to be seen, being seated in a dull melancholy hole enough to give one the Hippochondria by once seeing it; the Company have no factor at present that is resident here, being left in the charge of a Molly and two or three Punes tho' in truth it is hardly worth looking after."

During the period of nearly two centuries which have elapsed since our unknown adventurer wrote this description of Hughli, many an officer stationed there, who had never heard of the author, must have cordially sympathized with his description of the station as "a dull, melancholy hole," and yet there are a dozen worse stations in Bengal, a fact which speaks volumes for the amenities of the province.

During the first half of the eighteenth century Hughli hardly has a history. Murshid Kuli Khan, as we have seen, became Deputy Governor of Bengal in 1710, and Governor in the following year. Though nominally only the Viceroy of the Delhi Emperor, he was the first practically independent Nawab of Bengal, and remained so till his death in 1725. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shuja Khan, who held the province till his death in 1739, and was succeeded by his son, Sarfaraz Khan. In 1642 Alivardi Khan, brother of Shuja Khan, slew Sarfaraz Khan, and took his place, governing until April 1756, when he died, and was succeeded by his grandson, the notorious Siraj-al-daulat, or Surajah Daulah. This young prince, as soon as he came

to the throne, attacked the English, and took Calcutta and Fort William; the Fort surrendering on 20th June 1756, and the ghastly tragedy of the Black Hole following the same night. He did not long hold his new conquests, for Clive retook Calcutta on 2nd January 1757, and the dynasty of Murshid Kuli Khan vanished after the battle of Palasi or Plassey, fought on 23rd June 1757.

Hughli again comes prominently into history by its capture by the English in January 1757. The following account of its capture is summarized from Ives' Voyage :—

"Accordingly Houghley, a very large and rich city belonging to the Nabob, situate on the river about thirty miles above Calcutta, was fixed upon as the next object of our military operations."

The *Bridgewater*, a small ship of 20 guns, the sloop *Kingfisher*, 16 guns, and the bombketch *Thunder* sailed from Calcutta on 5th January 1757, with all the boats of the squadron, manned by 150 sailors, 200 European soldiers, and 250 sepoys. Major Kilpatrick commanded the land forces, Captain King, R. N. the sailors. They reached Hughli on the 9th, cannonaded the place on the 10th, and stormed a breach, with little resistance, on the night of the 10th, or early morning of the 11th, under Captain Coote (subsequently Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief). The garrison, consisting of 200 men, mostly ran away. The loot taken consisted of 20 guns, with some ammunition, some tuttenagg (zinc), tinkal, and Japan copper. Most of the valuables in Hughli had been sent to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, to escape capture.

After the capture of Hughli, Captain Speke, R. N., of the *Kent*, was sent to take command of the expedition, and taking the sailors, with 50 soldiers and 100 sepoys under Coote, burned the "*Gongee*" (*ganj*), three miles from the Fort, containing several large granaries and storehouses of the Nawab's. On the way the party passed through the Portuguese Convent (Bandel), where they were informed that from 3,000 to 4,000 of the enemy had assembled to oppose them. They fought their way back, losing one officer, midshipman Hamilton of the *Kent*, and a few men killed; and three midshipmen, one of whom, Roberts, of the *Kent*, lost his hand, and 25 men wounded. Lieutenant Roddam of the *Kent* died of bowel-complaint and fever.

The Nawab wrote to protest against the attack on and capture of Hughli, and also forbade the English to attack Chandarnagar. The French proposed a treaty of neutrality, but admitted that they had no power to make such a treaty without sanction of Pondicherry. Watson and Clive accordingly agreed to attack Chandarnagar, which they did on 23rd March 1757. The fight is described in the section on the history of the French.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century up to 1757 all payments due from the English Government in Calcutta to the Nawab of Bengal appear to have been made to the *Faujdar* of Hughli. The Consultations of 22nd April 1706 show Rs. 3,000 paid as "Hughli *peshkash*" for the ~~past~~ year. This is

the payment made in lieu of all dues, under the Emperor's *farman* of 1691, for liberty to trade, which has been mentioned above. In the Consultations of 1754-57 there are frequent entries of these payments, the *peshkash* of Rs. 3,000 a year (on 8th January 1756 only Rs. 2,325 was paid as the annual amount); sums for ground rent, which vary a little with every entry, but are usually between Rs. 425 and 430 as ground rent for four months, and Rs. 200 as an annual present to the *Faujdar* himself. In the Consultations of 4th August 1757 it is noted that the annual *peshkash* will in future be paid at Muxadavad (Murshidabad); but the ground rent continued to be paid at Hughli. This payment presumably ceased in 1760.

In Long's "Selections from Unpublished Records," p. 137, occurs the following curious note of a quarrel between the English and the representative of the Nawab at Hughli. Considering that this quarrel occurred barely six months after the battle of Plassey, it would appear that the *Faujdar* had hardly recognised that the English were now the real masters of Bengal:—

"Consultations, 3rd January 1758. The zamindar acquaints the Board that Solaman Beg, the Phowadar's Naib at Hugly, has placed four Simtaburdars at the Company's old factory at Golegaut in Hugly, and likewise threatened to cut down the English colors there, and has planted a pair of Moor's colors close by the English on the Company's ground, and his people have been and drove away some coolies that were clearing a spot of ground there in order to settle a market. Mr. Collett thinks the Company have an undoubted right to settle any market or bazar in their own ground; he therefore hopes some method will be taken to reprove the insolence of Solaman Beg. Ordered that the President do write to Solaman Beg that we think this a piece of insolence."

On the 27th September 1759 the English Government in Calcutta concluded a treaty with Mir Kasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar, by which it was arranged that all the real power in Murshidabad should be transferred to Mir Kasim, the title of Nawab, with a considerable income, remaining to Mir Jafar for life; that the English should support Mir Kasim with their troops, and that for their military charges Mir Kasim should assign to the Company the districts of Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong. The tract of country which now forms the Hughli district was included then in the *zilla* of Bardwan. By this treaty, then, Hughli district became British territory.

4. *The Dutch, and Chinsura.*—The first Dutch fleet sailed for the Indies under Houtman in 1595. The Dutch were thus about a century later than the Portuguese, but only four years later than the English, in making their first venture to the East. They founded the "Society for trade to Distant Countries" in 1597. This Society occupied its first station on the Indian peninsula in 1598, and in 1602 became the Dutch East India Company. Von Riebeck settled a Colony at the Cape in 1651, the Dutch East India Company then gave up St. Helena, which they had held for some time previously, and which was at once occupied by the English East India Company.

The Dutch visited Bengal first in 1625, according to Orme, and in 1632, after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hughli, they settled there, and founded Chinsura. Not much is known of the early history of the Dutch settlement. In 1676 Streynsham Master notes in his diary, when making his visit of inspection from Madras to Bengal, that the Dutch were then in occupation of Chandarnagar, which the French had previously occupied, but abandoned:—

23rd September 1676.—“Wednesday morning about seven clock we gott to Barnagurr, where the DUTCH have a place called the Hogg ffactory, and I was informed they kill about 3,000 hoggs in a yeare, and salt them for their shipping lesse than two miles short of Hugly we passed by the DUTCH garden, and a little further by a large spot of ground which the FRENCH had laid out in a ffactory, the gate to which was standing, but which was now in the possession of the Dutch. Then we came by the DUTCH ffactory, which is a large well built house standing by itselfe, much like to a country seat in ENGLAND That parte of the towne which wee passed by was all built of thatcht Hovells. About 7 a clock in the evening we came to the Hon^{ble} Company's ffactory.” (Hedges' Diary, Vol. II, p. 233.)

In 1696 occurred the rebellion of Subha Sinh, who took the Mogul fort and town of Hughli towards the end of the year. The Governor of the Dutch factory at Chinsura drove the rebels out of Hughli by broadsides from the ships. Under the permission then given by the Nawab of Bengal to the European traders to defend themselves, the Dutch built Fort Gustavus at Chinsura. Some sort of a fort, however, had evidently been constructed previous to this date. The author of an article called “Notes on the Right Bank of the Hooghly,” in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845, states that the fort bore the dates of 1687 on its northern and 1682 on its southern gate. What may be the authority for this statement I cannot tell. Stavorinus, who visited Bengal about 1769-70, and saw the old fort with his own eyes, says of the fort that “it was built in the year 1656, as appears by the date over the land gate.” This fort was pulled down by the English in 1827, some after the cession of Chinsura. A large slab of grey granite, which is still extant, was recently lying in the outer entrance to the racquet court, and has now been set up at the Commissioner's house. It is presumably one of the stones which were placed over the fort gates. It bears the monogram O.V.C., and the date 1687. The letters O and C are placed crossing the two limbs of the V, with 16 on the left and 87 on the right. The initials stand for the words *Ostindische Vereenigde Companie*, United East India Company. The same monogram, with various dates, appears on the copper coinage which was issued by the Dutch Company, the other side of the coins being occupied by a coat of arms.

Hamilton, who visited Bengal about 1706, gives the following account of Barnagul and Chinsura. Barnagul is the place now known as Baranagar or Barnagore, a municipality on the east bank of the Hughli, lying immediately north of Cossipur; the real name is Virayanagar:—

“Barnagul is the next Village on the River's Side above Calcutta, where the Dutch have an House and Garden, and the town is famously infamous for a Seminary of female Lewdness, where Numbers of Girls are trained up for the Destruction of unwary youths, who study more woth to gratify their brutal Passions, than how to shun the evil Consequences that attend their Folly,

notwithstanding the daily Instances of Rottenness and Mortality that happen to those who most frequent these Schools of Debauchery. The Dutch Shipping anchors there sometimes to take in their Cargoes for Batavia.

"About half a league further up (from Chandanagar) is the Chinchura, where the Dutch Emporium stands. It is a large Factory, walled high with Brick. And the Factors have a great many good Houses standing pleasantly on the River Side, and all of them have pretty Gardens to their Houses. The Chinchura is wholly under the Dutch Company's Government. It is about a Mile long, and about the same Breadth, well inhabited by Armenians and the Natives. It is contiguous to Hughly, and affords sanctuary for many poor Natives, when they are in Danger of being oppress by the Mogul's Governor, or his Harpies."

For the following description of Chinsura in 1727 I am indebted to Major D. Prain, I.M.S., Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden at Sibpur, in whose possession is Garcin's manuscript. Laurent Garcin was a physician in the service of the Dutch East India Company from 1709 to 1727. Most of his service, apparently, was put in on voyages, or at Batavia, but he made three visits to Chinsura, as Surgeon of the Dutch East Indiaman *S. Heer Arenskerke*, the first in 1724-25, the second in 1726-27, when he remained there from 3rd October 1726 till the end of February 1727, and the third from 30th August to 3rd November 1727. Garcin was a man of much more note than any other Surgeon serving the European Companies in the East at the time. He was a Foreign Member of the Royal Society, an Associate of the French Academy, and an Honorary Member of the Leopold-Caroline Academy at Ratisbon—high scientific honours to be paid to a Swiss Surgeon in the Dutch service. The description of Chinsura in Garcin's journal, which I believe has never been printed, runs as follows:—

"Les petits vaisseaux de la compagnie, tel qu'estoit le nôtre, montant dans la Riviere, jusques à un Endroit appellé Volta qui est un village de Cabanas à la maniere du Pais. Cet endroit est audessus de *Chinchora* ont est la facture Hollandoise d'environ 18 à 20 Lieues. Tout le Pais des environs de ce Gange Occidental est appellé Hougly par les Naturels, si bien qu'il n'y a point de lieu qui s'appelle de ce nom. Il n'y a que les Hollandois seuls qui donno le nom d'*Hougly* à l'endroit de leur demeure, quoique le nom propre est celui de *Chinchora*.

"Chinchora est un village fort grand qui s'étend le long du Gange, et qui est d'environ une lieue de longueur. Les maisons des gens du pais y sont fort irregulierement rangees, tantot fort a l'etroit les unes des autres y forment quelques petites rues courtes, etroites à n'y pouvoir passer que deux personnes, ou quelques fois qu'une, et tantot ecartées ou entrecouppées par de vilains petits jardins, qui ne font pas moins un mauvais effet à la vue. Il y autant de maisons isolées qu'il y en a de jointes ensembles. Elles y sont généralement petites, laides, et mal baties, Elles y sont presque toutes construites de terre et de lattes ou de Bambous et fort peu differentes de celles de la Campagne de Suratte, toutes couvertes de Juncs, ou de feuillages herbaçoes. Toutes les habitations de Bengale sont à peu pres de la maniere. Les Messieurs Hollandois de ce comptoir y ont des Maisons fort propres, grandes et tres bien baties; elles sont toutes haties de Briquee, et formées en tarasse à la maniere de Perse, et toutes tres bien blanchies tant par dehors que par dedans, de maniere qu'il n'y a point d'endroit dans les Indes ou il y ait de plus belles Maisons. Il peut y en avoir douze ou quinze environ.

"La loge où le Directeur et quelques autres font leur demeure et où aussi sont les magasins pour les marchandises, est grande et assez bien construite, batie en tarasse; elle est barrée, divisée en deux cours, qui forment comme deux petites places ou il y a peut être

environ 20 pieces de Canon. Il y a un bastion à un des angles de la Loge aussi muni de Canon. On y tient une petite garnison d'environ 25 hommes avec un enseigne et un Sergent. Il y a derriere cette Loge, un grand Jardin on il regne dans le milieu selon sa longueur une belle allée d'arbres. Plus loin au bout de ce Jardin il y en a un autre que le Directeur qu'on venoit de relever par celui qui y estoit, avait fait construire; il estoit encient de coté de la riviere par un beau balcon et une belle Balustrade, au pres de laquelle il y a un beau Pavillon, grand et bien construit qui fait un bel Aspect. Ce Jardin qui estoit encore en Friche, estoit encore comme negligé. Il a conté 15,000 roupies a Mr. Vuist qui n'avoit été que deux ans chef de cete Direction, et qui en auroit fait peut être une pièce achevée, car il estoit ingenieur et curieux. Le même avoit fait construire deux beaux grands chemins droits d'environ une demi-lieue de longueur chacun, pour servir de promenade, soit en Caleche soit en Palanquin. Les gens de Bengale n'ont point de beaux chemins; tout le pais n'a pour chemin que de mauvais sentiers."

Long's Selections from Records contain three references to quarrels between the English and Dutch on one side, the French on the other, during the years 1748 and 1749, an echo of the great struggle that was then going on between Duplex and the English in the Carnatic. They run as follows:—

"Consultations, May 1748. Dutch deputies from Hughly attended the Council to acquaint the Governor that they had been forbidden (presumably from Europe) to hold any intercourse with Chandernagore, or to let their pilots give any help to the French.

"Consultations, July 1748. The Dutch Governor writes that if the French attack Calcutta they will send all their ships to help against them, on condition that the English will not take any Dutch deserters or refugees into their service.

"Consultations, 3rd January 1749. Huyghens, Director of Chinsura, informs the English that the French have forcibly seized the Dutch Company's garden, thereby breaking the neutrality of the Ganges."

Could the Dutch Director then have seen a few years into the future, he would have found that the "neutrality of the Ganges" would soon be broken with a vengeance at Chandarnagar and Biderra.

When Siraj-al-daulat sacked Calcutta in June 1756, he threatened the other European settlements with a like fate; but they purchased immunity by large money payments, the Dutch having to pay up 4½, the French 3½ lakhs of rupees. The French were allowed to escape with a smaller fine because they had furnished the Nawab with 250 ohests of gunpowder—a loan which they were to pay dear for a few months later. Both Dutch and French refused to help Calcutta against the Nawab, though they had both offered to shelter any of the English who might take refuge in their settlements. Apparently a good many of the English fugitives from Calcutta did find refuge in Chinsura. The Consultations of 3rd October 1757 record the "payment of 650 Arcot rapees to the Chinchura Surgeon for medicine and attendance on several of the military who were wounded at the siege of Calcutta, and who went up to that place after the capture of the settlement." And a medical officer, Dr. William Forth, seems to have been sent to Chinsura at the time as a sort of political agent. The Consultations of 14th February 1757 record the payment of a bill of his for sundry disbursements as Hughli.

In the year 1759 the Dutch made their bold bid for the empire of the East. At first sight the time appears to have been unpropitious for such an attempt. The star of England seemed to be everywhere in the ascendant. Only five years before, in 1754, Dupleix, her greatest enemy in the East, and the one who came nearest to success, had left India a ruined and broken man, beaten not by the superiority of his adversaries, but by the jealousies of his compatriots, and by want of support from France. The crushing blow of the capture of Calcutta, followed by the tragedy of the Black Hole, might have seemed as if it had finally disposed of the English Company's pretensions to independence, indeed to existence in Bengal. But to the English the loss of Bengal had been but a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*, and, barely a year after the surrender of Fort William, the genius of Clive on the field of Plassey had made his employers the masters of Bengal. To paraphrase Horace slightly, it might have been said "*Micat inter omnes Anglium sidus, Velut inter ignes Luna minores.*" But the time was really well chosen. The Nawab, Mir Jafar, who had been seated on the throne of Bengal after the battle of Plassey, had speedily discovered that the English traders were no longer the subjects, but were in reality the masters, of the native ruler, and, as might have been expected, he was ready to grasp at any help which offered him a fair prospect of freedom from his new servitude. The French, also, were still fighting in the Northern Sirkars with a fair prospect of success, and Clive, who was at the time Governor of Calcutta, was despatching to Madras every man he could possibly spare from Bengal, and sending thither all reinforcements from England as soon as they arrived. In November 1758 the Nawab and the Dutch came to an agreement that the latter should procure from Batavia a force of men and ships sufficient to expel the English from Bengal; while the former should aid them with his army at the most opportune moment. In the preceding month, October 1758, Clive had sent Colonel Forde to the Northern Sirkars, with all available troops, and there remained in Bengal only little more than three hundred English soldiers, with two weak battalions of sepoys.

Colonel Malleison, from whose work, "The Decisive Battles of India," most of this account of the events which led up to the battle of Biderra has been taken, states that the Nawab visited Calcutta in June 1759, and bestowed upon Clive, for his recent services, a large personal *jagir*. While there he received word from the Dutch at Chinsura that the time for action had almost arrived. In August a Dutch vessel, with a number of Malayan soldiers on board, reached the mouth of the Hughli. Clive took steps to prevent the ship from passing up the river, or landing the troops she had on board. The Dutch explained that the ship was really bound for their settlement at Negapatam and had only been driven into the Hughli by stress of weather; and that, as soon as she had got fresh water and provisions, she would proceed on her

voyage. She did so, but an attempt of the Dutch master-attendant, Lucas Sydland, to convey 18 Malayan soldiers to Chinsura in his official barge—an attempt discovered and frustrated—threw some doubt on the truth of the explanation.

In October 1759 the Nawab again visited Calcutta. In the same month seven armed Dutch ships, full of troops, European and Malay, arrived in the mouth of the Hughli. Clive informed the Nawab of the invasion. The Nawab went to Hughli, nominally to forbid the Dutch to bring their ships up the river, actually to concert with them his plans for a joint attack on the English. A few days later the Nawab wrote to Clive that he had granted the Dutch some indulgences with respect to their trade, and that they had promised that their ships and their troops should leave the river as soon as the season would allow.

Clive saw at once that the Dutch had not only no intention of sending away their ships, but that they had obtained the Nawab's consent to bring them up to Chinsura. He at once resolved that, in his own words, they "should not" do so. The position, however, was not an easy one. Clive is reported to have said that in India a soldier always fought with a rope round his neck. The present was a case in point. In Europe the Dutch were not only not at war, but were actually in alliance with the English. If he fired upon the Dutch vessels going up the river, he made war on his own responsibility on an ally of England. If he did not, he allowed them peacefully to join the forces at Chinsura; and, which was of more importance, to join hands with the Nawab; moreover, if he fought, the odds were against him. The Dutch were actively raising troops at Chinsura, Patna, and Kasimbazar, with the aid of the Nawab. On board the Dutch vessels were 700 European and 800 Malay troops, well armed and equipped; at Chinsura were 150 Dutch soldiers, and native levies increasing daily in number; behind the Dutch was the Nawab, ready to act as he had done at Plassey, as soon as fortune should favour them. Clive had in Calcutta 330 Europeans and 1,200 sepoys. He also called out the militia, of whom Holwell was Colonel, amounting to 300 men, chiefly Europeans, and enlisted about 60 volunteers, half of them mounted; and had the two forts which commanded the passage of the river—Thana fort, which stood where the Botanical Gardens now are, and Charnock's fort, which stood on the left bank of the river almost opposite—greatly strengthened. Just at this time Colonel Forde arrived in Calcutta, fresh from the storm of Masulipatam, and with him Captain Knox. Clive assigned the command of the two forts to Knox, that of the whole force to Forde.

In the second week of November the Dutch forwarded to Calcutta a protest, in which they threatened vengeance unless the English renounced their claim of search, as well as all opposition to the passage of their vessels up the river. Clive answered that all that had been done had been done by the

express authority of the Nawab, and offered to mediate for them with him. This answer was literally true, but absolutely false in spirit, as the Dutch well knew that the Nawab was on their side, and had directed that no attention should be paid to the orders he had given under pressure. Accordingly they attacked and took seven small English vessels, lying off Falta, and plundered the small English settlements at Falta and Raipur, or Royapur. Clive informed the Nawab of the Dutch action, and ordered Forde to occupy the Dutch settlement of Baranagar, to cross the river to Serampur with his troops, and march on Chandarnagar, so as to be ready to intercept the Dutch marching to Chinsura by land.

On 21st November the Dutch ships anchored in Sankrail reach, just out of fire of the batteries; and on the 22nd landed their troops, to march on Chinsura. They then dropped down the river to Melancholy Point. Clive sent information to Forde that the Dutch troops had landed and were on the march for Chinsura; and ordered Knox, with the troops in the batteries, to join Forde as quickly as he could.

There were in the river at the time three English ships, the *Calcutta*, 761 tons, Captain Wilson; the *Hardwicke*, 573 tons, Captain Sampson; and the *Duke of Dorset*, 544 tons, Captain Forrester. They mounted at most thirty guns apiece. The Dutch squadron consisted of four ships of 36 guns, the *Vlissingen*, *Welgeleegen*, *Bleiswyk*, and *Princess of Orange*; two of 26 guns, the *Elisabeth Dorothea* and *Walreld*; and one, the *Mossel*, of 16 guns. The English ships were lower down the river than the Dutch, whom they had followed slowly up. Even yet, in spite of the Dutch having already attacked the English, both parties hesitated to fight. On the 23rd Wilson came up to the Dutch fleet with his ships, when the Dutch Commodore James Zuydland, warned him that, if he attempted to pass, he would be fired upon. Having no orders to fight, Wilson anchored, and reported the state of affairs to Clive. Clive directed Wilson to demand at once from the Dutch Commodore the restitution of all British vessels, subjects, and property, a full apology, and his immediate departure from the river. Failing compliance, Wilson was ordered to attack the Dutch at once, though their squadron was double the strength of his, both in numbers of ships and weight of metal.

Compliance was refused, and Wilson attacked at once. Forrester, in the *Duke of Dorset*, the best sailer of the three English ships, came up first, and laid his ship alongside the *Vlissingen*, the Dutch flagship. The other two did not come up for half an hour, but when they did, they fought with such success that within two hours six of the seven Dutch ships had struck. The seventh, the *Bleiswyk*, escaped down the river to Kalpi, where she was taken by two other English ships which had just entered the river. The Dutch had lost all their seven ships, and had over a hundred men killed

and wounded. The English loss is said to have been very small. The *Duke of Dorset* had not a single man killed, though many wounded.

Meanwhile Forde had left Calcutta on the 19th November, with 100 Europeans, 400 sepoy, and four guns, taken the Dutch factory at Baranagar on the 20th, crossed the Hughli at Serampur, and marched to Chandarnagar, where he encamped on the night of the 23rd in the French gardens, south of the fort. The Dutch in Chinsura, on the evening of the same day, sent their whole force, amounting to 120 Europeans and 300 sepoy, with four guns, to meet Forde. This force camped for the night in the ruins of Chandarnagar. Here Forde found them on the morning of the 24th. He attacked them at once, took all their guns, and drove them back to Chinsura. That evening he was joined by Knox, whose forces, added to his own, amounted to 320 Europeans, 800 sepoy, and about 50 European volunteer cavalry. The Nawab had also sent him about 100 horsemen, who were to watch their opportunity.

Forde anticipated that the Dutch force marching from Sankrail would arrive next day. He still, however, had scruples as to fighting, and wrote to Olive, asking for formal orders. This note reached Olive when he was playing cards. Olive wrote on the back of it: "Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately. I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow."

Forde, early in the morning of the 25th November, took up a position at the village of Biderra. Malleon says:—

"His right rested on the village of Biderra, his left on a mango grove, both of which he occupied; his front was covered by a broad and deep ditch. Securely planted behind this, his guns commanded the treeless plain in front of it. It was the very best position that could have been taken, for whilst very defensive, it commanded all the approaches."

The Dutch force appeared at about 10 A.M., led by Colonel Roussel, a French soldier of fortune. They advanced boldly across the plain, under the fire of the English guns, until they came to the ditch, by which they were completely thrown into confusion. The following brief account of the fight is taken from Broome's "History of the Bengal Army," p. 270:—

"The action was short, bloody, and decisive. In half an hour the enemy were completely defeated and put to flight, leaving 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead on the field, 150 Europeans and as many Malays wounded, whilst Colonel Roussel and 14 other officers, 350 Europeans, and 200 Malays, were made prisoners. The troop of horse and the Nawab's cavalry—which latter did nothing during the action—were very useful in pursuing the fugitives afterwards, which they did with such effect, that only 14 of the enemy finally escaped and reached Chinsura. The loss of the English on this occasion was comparatively trifling. The advantage of a skilfully chosen position, the effect of a well-directed and well-served artillery, and finally the aid of cavalry, all tended to render this victory so decisive and complete in spite of the disparity of numbers."

Never was a victory more decisive. The Dutch had played for the Empire of the East, and lost.

On the principle of *audi alteram partem* it may be interesting to give the Dutch account of the battle. It does not differ much from Broome's account, though the phrase "constrained to retire" seems put rather mildly as a record of

the flight in which 14 escaped out of a force of 1,500, less than one per cent. The Dutch account is given as Appendix L by Broome, who copied it from Grose's "Voyage to the East Indies":—

"On the 25th, when the troops and other bands, which, on the 22nd before, were gone on shore, were, in their projected march, come near Chandanagore, they were there met by the English; who, according to their own account, to the number of 1,170, were posted very advantageously, and provided with a numerous artillery. No sooner were these troops come within cannon-shot, but they were fired on by the English, and though all the people were extremely fatigued by a very long march, which they were obliged to make for the space of three days; yet, with much bravery, they stood the fire of the English, and though unprovided of any artillery, marched up, with a full steady pace, to the enemy; but meeting in their way a broad and deep ditch which they were constrained to pass, to avoid being destroyed by the artillery of the English, the troops, in passing that ditch, fell into some disorder; the English, taking advantage of their circumstance, redoubled the fire of their artillery, and musketry; and the disorder, already arisen, being thereby increased, caused the slaughter of a part of these troops; another part was made prisoners; and the rest was constrained to retire."

History repeats itself, and in the same month of October, one hundred and forty years later, the curtain was to rise on the same drama, to be played over again by the same two races, on a different continent, but with the same result. In each case the weaker of the two, relying on foreign aid, made a sudden spring, and caught its stronger enemy half unprepared; in each case temporary success at first was to be followed by crushing defeat later on. Here, however, the parallel ends. It is not recorded that, in 1759, the best friends of the enemy were to be found in the English capital.

Where was the battle of Biderra fought? The exact spot does not seem to be known now. The name of Bidara or Biderra does not appear in the Post Office Village Directory of the district, and I have been unable to get any information locally from any of the inhabitants, none of whom appear ever to have heard of the name. Malleson says that Biderra is "about midway between Chinsura and Chandranagar." This distance is something under three miles, the whole locality being now thickly covered with houses. Bhola Nath Chander, in his "Travels of a Hindu" (p. 12), speaks of Bidera, where Colonel Forde defeated the Dutch, about four miles west of the town of Chinsura. This would put it on the other, or west, side of the Saraswati. I have not been able to find the place marked by name in any map which I have been able to consult. But in Rennell's map a drawn sword is shown, on the east bank of the Saraswati, a little south-west of Chandarnagar, with the date 1759. This must refer to the battle of Biderra. This map is dated 1781, only 22 years after the battle, and no doubt the spot so shown is the actual field of the battle. Probably the Saraswati itself was the broad and deep ditch, which threw the Dutch into confusion.

The Dutch, after their defeat, had to pay for their ill-success pretty dearly. Broome gives in full (p. xxi) the articles drawn up after the battle between the English and the Dutch, and the Nawab and the Dutch. They

got small sympathy from the Nawab, who naturally wished to persuade the English that he had not had anything to do with their action, and proposed to exterminate them, or to expel them from Bengal. Clive proceeded to Chinsura and effected an accommodation between them and the Nawab. The Dutch were confirmed in all their previous privileges of trade, and allowed to maintain 125 soldiers for the protection of their factories. But they were compelled to send away their squadron, taking on board it all prisoners who were not willing to take service with the English, (both ships and prisoners were restored by the English); to discharge all their sepoys; and to agree never in future to carry on hostilities, to enlist or introduce troops, or to erect fortifications, within the limits of Bengal. They also agreed to disavow the conduct of their fleet, to acknowledge themselves as the aggressors, and to pay to the English three *lakhs* of rupees as compensation for losses and the expenses of the war. These terms were subsequently approved by special Commissioners of the two nations appointed in Europe to consider the matter.

Two entries from the Consultations of about this date may here be quoted, one before and one after the short war:—

“On 11th January 1759 a letter was read, from the President and Council of Chinchurah dated 27th ultimo, protesting against us for preventing them collecting Salt Petre, &c. Resolution to inform the Director and Council of Chinchurah that their protest is groundless, and that their disrespectful behaviour towards the *Subah* has been the sole cause of their misfortunes, but every assistance that lies in our power shall be given them, and to prove the sincerity of our professions we offer a further quantity of 8,000 maunds of Salt Petre.”

In the Proceedings of 12th May 1760 is a note to the effect that the Nawab states that he intends to punish the Dutch, who have helped his enemies. The Dutch asked the English to intercede for them, which they consented to do, if the Dutch paid them the sum of Rs. 75,428, due by treaty. The money was paid.

A letter from the Court of Directors, dated 2nd April 1762, para. 19, sent out express orders to Calcutta not to quarrel with the Dutch. There was now no further necessity for any quarrel.

In the Proceedings of 29th April 1767 is entered a complaint from the Dutch that the English bind the weavers by advances to work for none but the English.

Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral who visited Bengal in 1769-70, devotes a good deal of space in his “Voyages” to descriptions of Chinsura and its subordinate settlements on the Hughli. He states that Chinsura and Barnagore were obtained by purchase from the Moorish Government; and that the Dutch have also factories or lodges at Calcapore near Kasimbazar, at Patna, at Dakka, and a small one at Balasore; one at Malda had been abandoned. He writes:—

“The Dutch began to trade in Bengal as early as the commencement of the last century; they were always the first in opulence and importance, till the English became the rulers of the country in the last revolution; and perhaps they would still have been so had the well-planned but

badly-executed attempt made as before mentioned, during the administration of the Governor-General Mousel in 1759, succeeded to our wishes."

On his way up the Hughli, Stavorus first visited Fulta, of which he says:—

"The fiscal of Chinsura keeps one of his officers here, to have an eye upon the illioit or smuggling trade, that is, in such cases, when matters have not been settled betimes with the fiscal, and a proper consideration made for his connivance."

Of Baranagar, or Barnagore, he says, only an under-officer of the fiscal resides here, but the Dutch hoist their flag.

"The coarsest sort of blue handkerchiefs are made here."

The Dutch Company keep up a house for the accommodation of any of their servants staying here.

"Barnagore is famous on account of the great number of ladies of pleasure, who reside there, and who pay a monthly recognition to the fiscal of Chinsura, for the free exercise of their profession."

Of the Chinsura settlement he states that, though the Director corresponds direct with Holland, he is subordinate to Batavia; any vacancies which occur at Chinsura can only be filled temporarily, pending confirmation from Batavia. The Government consists of a Director, with a Council of seven members, the last two of whom have no vote. The Director is styled "The Honourable Director of the Company's important trade in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia." The Director receives a percentage on the sale of all imported goods. He spends Rs. 35,000 a year; the English Director at Calcutta spends a *lakh*. The Director is the only officer allowed to use a *palki*. The second in Council is the Chief at Cossimbazar; the third is the Chief Administrator; the fourth is Superintendent of the Cloth room, considered a very profitable appointment. The Captain of the troops is a member of Council, but has no vote. The first warehouse-keeper ranks as merchant. The Fiscal or Sheriff ranks as a merchant, but has only the pay of a junior merchant. He punishes by flogging and fines, frequently imposing fines of 20,000 or 30,000 rupees on rich *bunniahs*. The natives call him *Jamadar*. He also gets five per cent. on all imports and exports by private trade, and as six ships come and go every year, he makes Rs. 4,000 per ship, or Rs. 24,000, out of this. He also gets one-half of all contraband goods he seizes. The natives stand more in awe of him than of the Director. The Controller of Equipment has also a seat in Council, but no vote.

"Chinsura (he writes) is partly built along the river, and requires full three-quarters of an hour to walk round it. On the land side, it is closed by strong barrier gates. Within it is built very irregularly. It has many markets. The principal houses are built of brick, with terrace roofs, in the Moorish style. They are but of one storey, and are whitened on the outside with lime, which gives them an elegant appearance. As little wood as possible is used in building, on account of the white ants, which entirely destroy the inside of the wood, in a very few years. Glass windows are not known here. Frames of twisted cane are made use of in their stead. . . . The terrace roofs, and the floors of the rooms, are laid with fine pulverised stones which they call *Zurkee*. . . . The houses, or rather the huts, of the poor Bengalese, are mostly made of mud and straw, and receive their light through the entrance. . . .

"The Company's lodge, which bears the name of Fort Gustavus, is constructed in a large open place, about 500 or 550 feet from the river. It is an oblong square; the largest sides, which are opposite to north and south, are about 650 feet in length, the shortest, about the half. It was built in the year 1656, as appears by the date over the land gate. The walls are of stone, about 15 feet high; but they are, at present, in such a ruinous condition, that it would be dangerous to discharge the cannon which are mounted upon them. Within are the Company's warehouses, and the house of the Director, which is the only thing worth seeing. There are three gates, one by the river, one on the land side to the north, and another to the south; this last leads to what is called the Company's garden, in which there is neither a bush, nor a blade of grass.

"To the westward of the lodge, there was formerly a burying ground, which was adorned with many handsome tombs, and gravestones. But these were all destroyed under the Government of the Director Taillefert, except the monument of the Director Huysman, which was transformed into a powder magazine. The rest was made into a level plain, and the burying place was removed to another part of the town, where now every grave has an upright tombstone upon it.

"A battery of one and twenty pieces of cannon is thrown up by the river side for the purpose of firing salutes.

"Something more than a quarter of an hour's walk out of Chinsura, towards Chandernagore, a large and handsome house was erected, during the direction of Mr. Vernet, as a lodge for the freemasons, which was completed and inaugurated while I was there. This festivity concluded in the evening with a magnificent fire-work and ball, at which the chief English and French ladies and gentlemen were equally present.

"This building, to which the name of Concordia was given, cost Rs. 30,000, and the money was defrayed out of the private purses of the members of the Council of Hougly."

He also writes—

"Hougly, which lends its name to Chinsurah, is a Moorish Fort, a short half an hour's walk higher up. It is not very defensible, and has little worthy of observation within it, except the house of the *fauddar*, and the stables for his elephants."

Stavorinus gives an interesting account of a short struggle with the natives which took place in 1769. The Dutch director not having paid the customs duties due for a considerable time, the *fauddar* sent a *chobdar* to demand them. The Dutch director had the *chobdar* flogged. The *fauddar* then seized all goods coming down to Chinsura by river, and invested the place with a force of ten or twelve thousand on the land side, as well as by river. This was done by order of the Viceroy, Mahomed Reza Khan. The investment only lasted thirteen days, from 3rd to 15th October 1769, but during this short period many are said to have died of starvation, there being no stock of provisions in the place. The blockade was raised on the intervention of the English, at the request of the Dutch Council, who promised to pay the amount due. Stavorinus states that famine was very bad at Chinsura in 1769. Presumably this refers to the time of the investment, though not directly so stated. Small-pox was also very prevalent at the time of his visit, the Dutch director F——* dying of that disease in May 1770.

* Stavorinus only gives the initial F——.

Toynbee states that the period from 1770 to 1780 was that when Dutch trade was in its most flourishing state. The peace of the country was kept by the English, and the Dutch had hardly any military expenses. The chief profit of the Dutch was derived, not so much from their trade with Europe, as from the export of opium to Java. Eight hundred chests were annually got from Patna, and exported to Batavia; each chest contained 125 lbs., and cost the Company, all told, from 700 to 800 rupees. Each chest sold in Batavia for about 1,250 rupees, and the annual profits of the trade amounted to four lakhs yearly. In the latter part of the eighteenth century Chinsura came to be regarded practically as a suburb of Calcutta, where wealthy residents of Calcutta spent the "week-end," and where European children were educated. Advertisements in the *Calcutta Gazette* give us some idea of the cost of house rent, style of houses, &c. Considering the much greater value of the rupee over a century ago, the rents seem enormous. The *Gazette* of 15th April 1784 advertises to let at Chinsura, a two-story large house on the river, for Rs. 250 per month; and a week later is advertised for sale "a neat lower roomed Garden House in Hooghly, near Chinsura, known by the name of Linden Rust." The house was *pakka*, contained a hall, four rooms, two verandas, had 25 *bighas* of ground, and was let for Rs. 100 a month. On 30th April 1789 is advertised for sale the house of the late A. Bogaard, Second in Council: a large dwelling house, with two halls, eight lower rooms, and one upper room. Also a garden house and garden two miles west, with 29 *bighas* of ground, with fruit trees, two tanks, and a deer park, well stocked with about twenty different kinds of deer. On 13th May 1790 came into the market, as part of the estate of Robert Home, deceased, "that elegant commodious upper roomed house, built by William Lushington, Esq., and known by the name of Houghly Hall, situate on the banks of the river at Houghly, and commanding a most delightful and extensive prospect." With the house went a large garden, of 13 *bighas*. On 22nd May 1794 is advertised to let at Bandel a *pukka*-built upper roomed house, containing a hall, 40 feet by 20, two rooms 20 feet square, out-houses, and a walled and railed deer park, of six *bighas*.

Hodges thus describes Chinsura in 1780-81:—

"Near to this is the town of Chinsurah, the Dutch settlement on the banks of the river; this town is very distinguishable at a considerable distance, and has a handsome appearance. It contains several good houses and a church, with a little mole projecting into the river. Chinsurah lies nearly midway between Chandernagore and the old town of Hoogly, which is now nearly in ruins, but possesses many vestiges of its former greatness. In the beginning of this century it was the great mart for the export trade of Bengal to Europe." ["Travels in India during the years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783," by William Hodges, R. A. Quarto, London, 1793.]

Chinsura was seized by the English in 1781, along with the other Dutch possessions in Bengal, but restored at the peace of 1783. It was again taken on 28th July 1795, and appears to have been administered by the English

up to 1817; though possibly, like Chandarnagar, it was given up by the peace of Amiens, on 27th March 1702, to be again taken in 1703. While in the hands of the English, the foreign settlements on the Hughli were governed by a special Commissioner, first a Mr. R. Birch, afterwards Mr. G. Forbes, I.C.S. It was restored to the Dutch on 20th September 1817, according to Toynbee, but the actual retrocession would seem to have taken place a few days earlier, from the following extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 18th September 1817:—

"On the occasion of the rehoisting of the Dutch flag at Chinsura on Monday last, the Hon'ble J. A. Van Braam gave a grand dinner, and in the evening a Ball and Supper to Mr. Forbes, the English Commissioner, and principal families in Chinsura, Chandernagore, and Serampore. We are informed that the entertainment was arranged in the most gratifying manner, and the greatest harmony and cordiality prevailed."

In 1824 the English police pursued two offenders into Dutch territory and captured them there. The Dutch Governor complained, and the Magistrate had to apologise.

Chinsura was finally ceded to England by the treaty dated 17th March 1824, at London, along with the other Dutch factories in Bengal, Kalkapur, Patna, Dakka, Fulta, and Balasore, with effect from the 1st March 1725. It was not, however, till 7th May 1725 that the place was actually handed over. In return the English handed over to the Dutch Fort Marlborough, and all their possessions on the island of Sumatra. The English also withdrew all objections to the Dutch occupying Benecoolen, the Dutch to the English occupation of Singapur. The treaty is given in full in Toynbee's book, in which may also be seen a plan of Chinsura, as it was in 1763. Though not mentioned either by Stavorinus, or in the treaty of cession, the Dutch had also for some time a factory at Chapra.

Most of the Dutch residents remained at Chinsura. In 1829 there were 76 Christian (European?) inhabitants of 18 years and over in Chinsura, and 30 in Bandel. Now the only European residents are the officials, both of the district and of the railway, and the missionaries.

The author of an article "Calcutta in the Olden Time," in the *Calcutta Review* of 1860, quotes from Grand Pre's "Voyage in the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, 1789-90," a book I have never seen myself, the following curious description of some of the inhabitants of Chinsura:—

"There was a class of East Indians in Chinsura of whom Grand Pre writes thus—'Here, as in all the Dutch establishments, some Malay families have settled and given birth to a description of women called Mosses, who are in high estimation for their beauty and talents. The race is now almost extinct, or is scattered through different parts of the country; for Chinsura in its decline had no longer sufficient attraction to retain them, and at present a few only, and those with great difficulty, are here and there to be found.'"

"We have not heard of them of late years."

These Mosses, apparently, were ladies who made a living by their looks, like the damsels of Baranagar, who made such an impression upon both Hamilton

and Stavorinus. Few in number in 1790, not heard of in late years in 1860, needless to say that the race does not now inhabit Chinsura.

I have been able to ascertain the names of only a few of the Dutch Governors of Chinsura. The officer who signs first the treaty of December 1759 is A. Bisdorn; G. L. Vernet, a subsequent Governor, signs second. Mossel was apparently the Governor-General of Batavia, not of Chinsura—

1706	...	Willem de Ros.	1754	...	J. Kersebon.
?	...	Huysman.	1759	...	A. Bisdorn.
?	...	Taillefert.	1768	...	G. Vernet.
1724	...	Mons. Vuist.	1780	...	Ross.
1726-27	...	Heer Patras.	1783	...	P. Brueys.
1744	...	Sichterman.	1789	...	Mons. Titsinh.
1749	...	Huygens.	1818—25	...	G. Overbeck.

5. *The French and Chandarnagar.*—The first attempt of the French to trade with India was made as early as 1503, in the reign of Louis XII, when two ships were fitted out by some merchants of Rouen to trade with the East. They sailed from the port of Havre in 1503, and were never heard of again. No further efforts were made for a century, till Henri IV granted a patent for fifteen years, on 1st June 1604, to a Company to trade with the East. This Company, however, does not appear to have done anything. The second Company was formed by Richelieu under letters patent of 24th June 1642 as “La Compagnie des Indes.” It devoted its attention chiefly to Madagascar. The third Company was formed under the same name, by Colbert in 1664. They founded their first factory at Surat, in 1668. In the beginning of 1670 they established a factory at Masulipatam, under a *farman* from the King of Golconda, dated 5th December 1669. In 1674 an officer named Martin bought for the Company a piece of ground south of the river Coleroon, to which, in the following year, was given the name of Phuleheri, which gradually became Pondicherry. This third Company was superseded by a fourth, got up by John Law, under a royal decree of May 1719, and called the “Company of the Indies,” the scope of its operations including both the East and the West Indies. This fourth Company came to an end in 1769.

Chandarnagar is generally supposed to have been occupied for the first time by the French about 1676. It may have been a little earlier, for Streynsham Master, in his diary of his visit to Hughli in 1676, states, under the date of 13th September 1676, that a little south of the Dutch factory at Chinsura he passed a spot which had been laid out as a factory by the French, but which was then in occupation of the Dutch. Colonel Yule gives 1673 as the date of first occupation. (Hedges’ Diary, Vol. III, p. 218.)

The French appear to have made no further efforts at settlement or trade in Bengal for a period of twelve years. But in 1688 they occupied

Chandarnagar, and this time permanently, under an edict of Aurangzeb. About the same time, more or less, they occupied stations at Balasore, Kasimbazar, Dakka, Patna, and Jagdea. In 1697, at the time of Subha Singh's rebellion, the settlement was fortified, by the construction of Fort Orleans, which stood a little to the north of the present embankment, the Quai Dupleix. In 1701 Chandarnagar was made subordinate to Pondicherry. But little was done in the way of trade either by the French, or by the Danes, who shared the French settlement up to 1755, until the Governorship of Dupleix. Hamilton thus describes the place in his "New Account of the East Indies":—

"There are several other villages on the River's Side, on the way to Hughly, which lies 20 Miles above Barnagul, but none remarkable, till we come to the Dane's Factory, which stands about four Miles below Hughly, but the Poverty of the Danes has made them desert it, after having robbed the Mogul's Subjects of some of their Shipping to keep themselves from starving. Almost opposite to the Danes Factory is Bankebanksol, a Place where the Ostend Company settled a Factory, but in *anno* 1723 they quarrelled with the *Fouzdaar* or Governor of Hughly, and he forced the Ostenders to quit their Factory and seek Protection from the French at Charnagur, where their Factory is, but, for Want of Money, not in a Capacity to trade. They have a few private Families dwelling near the Factory, and a pretty little Church to hear Mass in, which is the chief Business of the French in Bengal."

The above extract may have been a fair description of Chandarnagar, at the time when Hamilton visited it, in 1706 or 1707; but it is curious to reflect that, by the time his book was published, in 1744, Chandarnagar had risen to the highest pitch of prosperity, which it ever enjoyed, and was a greater centre of trade than Calcutta.

Laurent Garcin (1726-27) gives the following description of Chandarnagar:—

Au dessous et à une bonne demi-lieue de Chinchora, est Chandernagor, la demeure des François. Ils ont le plus bel endroit et la plus belle Loge du pais d'Hongly, fortifiée regulierement de Quatre Bastions, ayant dans son enciente une grande et belle place, quisert de place d'armes—le tout bien muni de canon. La maison du Directeur est belle et assez bien construit et on y batissoit alors à coté, une forte jolie petite Eglise. Dehors cette Loge qui est environnée d'un bon Fossé il y a aussi une petite Eglise appartenant aux Jesuites qui est tres proprement batie, on il y avoit deux Peres qui la servoient. Cette Loge fortifiée est tout pres du Gange. Il y a outre ceux de leur Compagnie plusieurs François d'establis qui ont d'assez jolies demeures. Les François y ont quelques troupes commandées par un Capitaine."

Joseph François Dupleix was born at Landrecie, in Flanders, in 1697, and was the son of a Director of the French Company of the Indies. He first went on a voyage to India in 1714, at the age of seventeen. On his return to France, he was appointed Second in Council at Pondicherry in 1720, and returned to India the same year. In 1726 he was suspended, but remained in India, and on 30th September 1730 he was reinstated. In 1731 he was appointed Intendant, or Governor, of Chandarnagar, and remained there for ten years, during which he not only made an immense fortune for himself by private trade, but also made the fortune of his charge. He found

Chandarnagar almost a ruin; he left it the most important European settlement in Bengal, with 2,000 brick houses, an extensive trade, and unsurpassed credit. In 1741 he was appointed Governor of Pondicherry, and went to that station. In the following year, 1742, he revisited Chandarnagar for the last time. He remained thirteen years at Pondicherry. During that time he formed the design of making the French the paramount power in all South India—a design which, with proper support from his employers at home, and his compatriots in India, he would certainly have carried out. Both utterly failed him, and he left India a disappointed and ruined man. He was superseded by Godeheu on 2nd August 1754, and sailed for home on 14th October 1754. His immense private fortune had been spent in carrying on the struggle against the English, and was never repaid by the Company. He died in poverty in Paris, on 10th November 1764.

Dupleix was succeeded as Governor of Chandarnagar in 1741 by M. Duval de Leyrit, under whom the settlement soon sank from the height of prosperity to which Dupleix had raised it. When Siraj-al-daulat advanced on Calcutta in 1756, he demanded help from the French and Dutch. The French gave him 250 barrels of gunpowder, in return for which he afterwards let them off with a fine of 3½ lakhs, while he exacted 4½ lakhs from the Dutch. Both French and Dutch refused to help the English, but both offered protection in their settlements to any fugitives who might escape to them.

After he had recaptured Calcutta, Clive lost no time in pushing his way forward, and seized Hughli on the 10th of January. The French proposed a treaty of neutrality in Bengal between the English and themselves, but Clive and Watson were unwilling to agree, unless the French would join them against the Nawab, which they were unwilling to do. In the beginning of January Clive had heard that war had been declared between France and England. The same intelligence had reached Chandarnagar, but both French and English were uncertain whether it would pay them better to make a treaty of neutrality in Bengal, or to fight the quarrel out. Both came to the conclusion that the treaty would suit them better, and a treaty of neutrality had almost been agreed upon, when events occurred which caused Clive and Watson to change their minds. Clive's easy defeat of the Nawab's army before Calcutta on 4th February showed that the quality of the Nawab's levies had been overestimated; the news of the capture of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Abdali reached Bengal, and the attention of the Nawab was attracted to his northern frontier, unmindful of the proverb "*Ab Dilli dur ast*" ("It's a far cry to Loch Awe"). Finally the opportune arrival of three ships of war from England settled the matter. Never again would so good an opportunity offer itself of settling once and forever the question of English or French supremacy in Bengal. The French deputies had to admit that they had no power to arrange a treaty of neutrality without the sanction of head-quarters at

Pondicherry. Taking advantage of this fact, Clive broke off negotiations, and advanced on Chandarnagar.

The following account of the attack on and capture of Chandarnagar is summarized from the account given by Ives, Surgeon to Admiral Watson's ship, who was himself an actor in the scenes he describes, in his "Voyage from England to India." He thus describes the French settlement:—

"Chandernagore, the principal settlement of the French in this part of the Indies, strongly garrisoned. The fort was a regular square, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circumference, with four bastions, each mounting 16 guns, besides some on the curtain, and a battery of four pieces of cannon on the top of a church. There was a dry fosse round the three sides to the land, with a glacis of about 40 yards. At the northward port" (i.e., gate) "was a ravelin mounting 5 guns, and opposite the port towards the water side was a mud battery of six guns which flanked down the river."

Clive commanded the land forces, invested the town on 13th March 1757, and drove the enemy into the fort on the 14th. The fleet, consisting of the *Kent*, of 70 guns, Admiral Watson and Captain Speke; the *Tyger*, 60 guns, Admiral Pocock and Captain Lathom; and the *Salisbury*, 50 guns, Captain Knowles, arrived on 18th March, "and, turning the point of Chandernagore reach, anchored off the Prussian Octagon." The French had blocked the channel by sinking ships, and had also prepared three fire-ships. But a deserter, named Terraneau, showed the English that the channel was passable in spite of the sunken ships; and on the night of 18th March a boat party cut the cables of the three fire-ships, and they went ashore. The attack was made on 23rd March. The land force under Clive captured the half-moon battery. On the river the *Tyger* took the lead, the *Kent* came second, but the two collided, and the *Kent* drifted back into what should have been the station of the *Salisbury*, which never came into action at all. At 8 A. M. a lucky shot of the enemy's caused an explosion on board the *Kent*, and 70 or 80 of the crew jumped overboard into the boats, which were alongside. Lieutenant Brereton, R.N., extinguished the fire, and persuaded the men in the boats to return. The place hung out a white flag about three hours after the bombardment began. Captain Coote and Lieutenant Brereton, who was the only officer on board the *Kent* neither killed nor wounded, were sent to treat for the surrender, and the English occupied the place.

Ives gives the terms of surrender in full. The chief items were, that no deserters should be executed; that officers should be paroled, soldiers and sailors made prisoners of war, sepoys allowed to go home. The treaty of surrender was signed for the French by P. Renault, F. Nicholas, La Portiere, G. Caillot, M. Fournier, and Sugues.

The French made a gallant defence. They stood to their guns as long as they had any to fire. How many killed and wounded they lost was not ascertained; in the south-east bastion alone forty were killed. Among the

wounded was a Corporal Lee, a deserter from the *Tyger*. He was sent to England as a prisoner.

The *Kent* had three guns on the upper and three on the lower deck dismantled; 138 cannon shot were sent through her side nearest the fort, and her sails and rigging were greatly damaged. She lost 37 killed and 74 wounded; among them, First Lieutenant Perreau killed, Third Lieutenant Hey, and Midshipman Speke, son of the Captain, died of wounds; among the wounded were Captain Speke (dangerously, but recovered), Second Lieutenant Stanton, Midshipmen Marriott and Wood, Purser Barnes, and Mr. Lister, Under-Secretary to the Admiral.

On the *Tyger* the number of killed "almost equalled those of the *Kent*," while 41 were wounded, including Admiral Pocock, Master's Mate Pater (lost his arm), and Midshipmen Wilkinson, Thompson, and Gribble. The only officer killed was the Master, Mr. Phillips. The *Salisbury* seems to have had no casualties, never having come into action. "The French power and commerce in Bengal were totally ruined." The *loot* taken, guns, stores, &c., sold for over £130,000.

Malleson, in "The French in India," p. 458, gives the garrison of Chandarnagar as 146 European troops, of whom 45 were invalids, 300 sepoy, and nearly 300 European volunteers. There were ten 32-pounders on each of the bastions, 24-pounders on the ramparts; eight 32-pounders on the south-western ravelin; six guns on the roof of the church; also several batteries beyond the glacis. He also gives the French loss as 110 killed. It is curious that the same Renault de St. Germain, who made so gallant a defence of Chandarnagar, afterwards, in 1760, surrendered Karikal to the English after a resistance so feeble that Lally, the French Commander-in-Chief, said he deserved death, and he actually was tried and cashiered.

The Consultations of 5th September 1757 contain an entry of orders to the *Buxey* (Paymaster) and Military Store-keeper to supply the officers with such materials, to blow up the fortifications and public works at Chandarnagar, as they may indent for, at the Company's charge.

Chandarnagar was restored to the French at the peace of Paris in 1763. One of the conditions of its restoration was that the fort should not be rebuilt, nor the settlement in any way fortified.

Stavorinus, in 1769-70, describes Chandarnagar as follows:—

"Chandernagore is built all along the river, and is embellished with many handsome houses. . . Further down, about half-way between Chandernagore and Serampore, is a place called Garetti. Here, on the same side with Chandernagore, the French Governor has built a noble house, or rather a palace, and has laid out an extensive and pleasant garden. And in this neighbourhood the English have a military fort, where often one thousand men, and sometimes more, are encamped. . . Chandernagore is built, about a mile in length, along the Ganges, in a straight line, with two parallel, and several cross streets behind it, which have some good buildings. The ruins of the Fort, demolished by the English, are at the north end of the place, and sufficiently

demonstrate its former strength . . . The trade of the French here has, since the last war, been greatly on the decline. Their settlement and fort of Chandernagore were then wholly destroyed by the English. At the peace which followed, it was conditioned that the Fort should not be rebuilt, nor should they be allowed to fortify themselves in any way. The English are very strict on these points, and are very careful that the French do not infringe these conditions in the least. It was not long ago, that they enforced their right in this respect without any ceremony."

He then relates how M. Chevalier, the Governor, had ordered a deep ditch, with salient angles, to be dug round the town, the earth being thrown up on the inner sides, so as to form a rampart. He alleged that this was simply a ditch to drain the place. The English sent an Engineer to survey it, who reported that, being deeper than low-water mark, it could not be meant for a drain. Accordingly 800 sepoys, under an Engineer officer, were sent to Chandarnagar, and the ditch was filled up.

When war again broke out between England and France in 1778, Chandarnagar was occupied without opposition by the English. War was declared on 18th March 1778, the news reached Calcutta *via* Suez on 6th July, and the place was occupied on 10th July. It was again restored to the French in 1783. During part of this time Sir Robert Chambers, of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, held the post of Special Judge of Chinsura and Chandarnagar, to which he was appointed in September 1781.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of 5th October 1787 describes a serious riot which had recently taken place at the French settlement. The paper states that, a riot having taken place at Chandernagore, the Governor, M. Dangereaux, had the ringleaders arrested; the mob attacked his house to release them; his guard fired on the crowd without effect; he had to send for help from Barrackpore, a battalion of sepoys was sent and restored order. The same newspaper states, in the following year, in the issue of 20th March 1788:—

"The French at Chandernagore, with extreme caution rather than prudence, have stopped any further advances for their investment, and some of the wealthy inhabitants have begun moving their most valuable effects to Serampore."

In 1789, the *Calcutta Gazette* of 17th September notifies that M. Montigny, the Governor of Chandernagore, has issued a proclamation prohibiting purchase or export of natives as slaves.

In 1789 the great French Revolution took place, and its effects gradually spread to the French settlements in India. The author of an article entitled "Notes on the right bank of the Hooghly," in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845, describes how a mimic revolution broke out at Chandarnagar in 1792. The people, led by a lawyer, rose against the Governor, who fled to his country house at Ghireti, as Louis XVI took refuge at Versailles. The mob followed him to Ghireti and brought him back to Chandarnagar in triumph, as the Parisian mob brought back Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette from Versailles to Paris. Fearing that the parallel might be completed by his execution, the Governor appealed for help to the English, who sent a force

which soon put down the disturbance. A less picturesque, but probably more authentic, account of this revolution is given in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 18th October 1792, as follows :—

“Monsieur Fumeron, some time ago appointed Chief of Chandernagore by the Government of Pondicherry, has been trying in vain, for many months past, to take possession of his Government, but the popular Chiefs of Chandernagore have uniformly resisted his authority, and even denied him admission in their Settlement. Thus situated, M. Fumeron has resided in Calcutta since his arrival in Bengal, but at length, seeing no hope of a change in the sentiments of those over whom he was intended to preside, he has left Calcutta, and embarked on board *la Fidèle* for Pondicherry, which sailed from hence a few days ago.”

War was declared between England and France on 8th February 1793, and, on the news reaching Calcutta, Chandarnagar was occupied in June 1793. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 20th June 1793 appears the following notification :—

“The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint Mr. Richard Birch, Superintendent, Judge, and Magistrate of Chandernagore, and Mr. DeBretel to be Deputy to the Superintendent.”

In the same publication, on 17th July 1793, was advertised for sale the property of the French Government at Chandarnagar arsenal, including the state palanquin.

Besides the settlement of Chandarnagar itself, the French have always owned, and to this day own, a small plot of land, about 120 *bighas* in extent, at Ghireti, one and-a-half miles to the south. Close to Ghireti the Grand Trunk Road, running from Calcutta, *via* Barrackpur, to Pulta, crosses the Hughli. At the north end of this small piece of land was the French Governor's country house, now in ruins. It was here that the Governor was said to have taken refuge during the mimic revolution of 1792.

The French territory of Chandarnagar comprises altogether about four square miles, being a little less than four miles in length, along the river bank, from north to south, and a little over one mile in breadth, from east to west. But of this territory only about seven *bighas* belongs to the French in full sovereignty. Of the rest they are only *zamindars* or *patnidars*, and pay land revenue to the British Government, through the Collector of Hughli, under the permanent settlement. About sixty years ago some disputes took place between the Collector of Hughli and the Administrator of Chandarnagar, the former claiming, the latter refusing to permit, British jurisdiction over all that part of the Chandarnagar territory for which the French paid land revenue. The claim of the French to exclusive jurisdiction over the whole of the land for which they paid revenue was eventually allowed by Government order No. 1086, of 23rd April 1845. (Toynbee, p. 24). Besides Chandarnagar, and the small patch of land at Ghireti, the French also still own a few *bighas* of ground at Balasore, the site of their old factory there.

The French ditch, which more or less surrounds Chandarnagar, appears to have been originally dug for drainage purposes about the end of the

eighteenth century, its construction being permitted by the 13th article of the treaty of Versailles in 1783. With the same object, it was redug and deepened about the middle of the nineteenth century. It now forms the boundary between the French territory and Bhadreswar, where it is both broad and deep. On the west of the settlement it is not so large, and its northern limb, which is still smaller, only a large ditch, lies well within the French boundary.

Modern Chandarnagar is a very neat, pretty, and well-kept little town, as far as the European quarter goes. The native parts, however, are no better than Hughli and Chinsura. There is a fine promenade or *bund* along the river bank, on the landward side of which stand the chief buildings of the town; the residence of the Administrator, the Convent, the Jail, the Thistle Hotel, and, a little way back from the river, the Church of St. Louis, built in 1726. This *bund* is known as the Quai Dupleix. Parallel with it, running northwards from the Church, is the second street, the Rue Martin, named after General Claude Martin, who left Rs. 50,000, the interest of which was to be given yearly to the poor of the town. A tablet in the Church of St. Louis commemorates this legacy. In this street stands the College, named after the great Governor, Dupleix, a bust of whom stands in the public gardens, at the south of the Church. Of the monuments in the Church, the following is the most interesting :—

Ci git Jean Henri Piron, officier français, Général Commandant le Corps français au service du Subah de Decan. Né à Huringue le 25 Mars 1763. Mort au jardin de L'Amitié le 21 Octobre 1807, âgé de 44 ans, 6 mois, 26 jours."

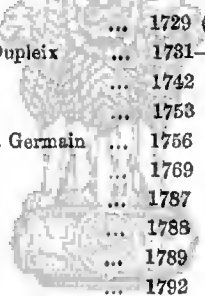
The name of Chandarnagar should literally be *Chandan-nagar*, the City of Sandalwood. The population is about 26,000 for the whole territory, all of which is practically urban. The Governor, or Administrator, as he is officially called, is subordinate to the French Governor-General at Pondicherry. The English Administration gives the French Government 300 chests of opium annually, on condition that the inhabitants do not attempt to engage in the manufacture of opium. The chief manufacture of the place is jute spinning and weaving, as carried out by the Gondalpara jute mill. Gondalpara is the south-eastern corner of the French territory. It was here that the Danish factory was situated, up to 1755; and the place still goes by the name of Danemardanga. The whole settlement of Chandarnagar comprises 2,359 acres, or about $3\frac{1}{4}$ square miles. It is known to the natives as Farasdanga. A fair called the *Gosaighata melā* is held on the river-side, at the northern end of the French territory, during the months of December and January. It lasts for four weeks.

French Ghireti is called Farasisganj. It consists of a long strip, between the Grand Trunk Road on the west, and the river Hughli on the east, and comprises 120 bighas in all; of which a very small portion, 110 yards in

length, and measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, lies on the western side of the Grand Trunk Road, at the northern end of the territory.

Capital punishment at Chandarnagar is carried out by guillotine, the instrument being brought, when required, from Pondicherry. It was last used in 1895. Chandarnagar, in common with the other French settlements in India, has a special issue of postage stamps. At the census of 1901 the number of British subjects living in French Chandarnagar was 10,999.

I have been able to ascertain the names of only a few of the Governors or Administrators of Chandarnagar during the eighteenth century. From 1793 to 1816 the settlement was almost continuously in the possession of the English. I am indebted to the kindness of M. Deville, the present Administrator of Chandarnagar, for a list of the Governors from 1816 to 1901. The names of Governors prior to 1793 are not available now at Chandarnagar:—



M. Blanchatiers	...	1729 (Died at Chandarnagar.)
Joseph François Dupleix	...	1731—1741.
M. De Leyrit	...	1742
„ De Leyrit	...	1753
„ Renault de St. Germain	...	1756
„ Chevalier	...	1769
„ Dangereaux	...	1787
„ F. Nicolas	...	1788
„ Montigny	...	1789
„ Fumeron	...	1792

Administrators of Chandarnagar, 1816—1901.

Name.	Appointment.	Title.	Date.
M. Ravier ...	Commissaire de la Marine ...	Chef de Service ...	1816
„ Dayot ...	Intendant Général ...	Ditto ...	1819
„ Ravier ...	Commissaire de la Marine ...	Ditto ...	1821
„ Cordier ...	Capitaine de Vaisseau ...	Administrateur ...	1822
„ Pellissier ...	Commissaire de la Marine ...	Chargé du Service ...	1823
„ Cordier ...	Capitaine de Vaisseau ...	Administrateur ...	1826
„ Crocquet ...	Sous Commissaire de la Marine	Chef de Service pour interim.	1828
„ Cordier ...	Capitaine de Vaisseau ...	Administrateur ...	1829
„ Niel ...	Sous Commissaire de la Marine	Chargé du Service p. i. ...	1836
„ Bédier ...	Commissaire de la Marine ...	Chef de Service ...	1836
„ Niel ...	Sous Commissaire de la Marine	Chargé du Service p. i. ...	1837

Administration of Chandarnagar, 1818—1901—concluded.

Name.	Appointment.	Title.	Date.
M. Auguste Bourgoïn.	Commis Principal de la Marine...	Chargé du Service p. i. ...	1838
„ St. Hilaire ...	Chef de Bataillon ...	Administrateur ...	1841
„ St. Pourçain	Sous Commissaire de la Marine...	Chef de Service p. i. ...	1843
„ Law d e Clapernon.	Colonel ...	Chef de Service ...	1844
„ A. Vigneti ...	Commissaire de la Marine ...	Ditto ...	1848
„ La Claverie...	Magistrat ...	Ditto p. i. ...	1855
„ I. Hayes ...	Commissaire de la Marine ...	Ditto ...	1855
„ Maras ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1856
„ Law d e Clapernon.	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1857
„ I. Hayes ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1860
„ Deruseat ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1865
„ Hervé ...	Sous Commissaire de la Marine	Ditto p. i. ...	1868
„ Bayet ...	Ditto ...	Ditto p. i. ...	1868
„ Durand ...	Colonel ...	Ditto ...	1868
„ Ferrier ...	Général ...	Ditto ...	1875
„ Sergent ...	Commissaire adjoint de la Marine	Ditto p. i. ...	1878
„ E. Fériez ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1879
„ Eudel ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1880
„ Clément Thomas	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1883
„ Sarine ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1887
„ Daclin Sibour	Ditto ...	Administrateur des Colonies.	1887
„ Le Cardinal...	Chef du bureau de la Direction de l'Intérieur.	Ditto p. i. ...	1888
„ Bonnet ...	Administrateur ...	Ditto ...	1889
„ Aubry Lecomte.	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1892
„ L'Ormières ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1896
„ Echallier ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1896
„ Bonchard ...	Magistrat ...	Ditto p. i. ...	1901
„ Alex Deville	Administrateur ...	Ditto ...	1901

6. *The Danes and Serampur.*—The Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and the first Danish ship arrived in India in 1616. The Captain, Rodant Crape, is said to have wrecked his ship off Tranquebar, to effect a landing. His crew were all murdered, but he himself contrived to make his way to the Court of the Raja of Tanjore, and obtained for the Danish Company a grant of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel Coast, with the land around, five miles long and three miles broad.

Stewart states that the Danes first settled on the banks of the Hughli at the same time as the French, in or about 1676. The author of an article called "Notes on the Right Bank of the Hughli," in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845, states that the Danes first settled near Hughli in 1698, having got a *farman* granting them liberty to trade from Azimus-shan, Viceroy of Bengal, Toynbee states that for this *farman* the Danes paid Rs. 30,000, in ten annual instalments. Anyhow their first settlement was at Gondalpara, in what is now the south-east corner of the French territory of Chandarnagar; the spot to this day is known as Danemardanga. Hamilton, as quoted in the account of Chandarnagar, mentions having visited their factory here, about 1706. He also speaks of their having a small settlement, or at least a house, on the west bank of the Hughli, a little south of the modern Geankhali. The river which he calls Ganga is the Rupnarayan. After describing the mouth of the Hughli, he goes on:—

"About five leagues further up, on the west side of the river of Hughly, is another branch of the Ganges, called Ganga, it is broader than that of Hughly, but much shallower, and more incumbered with sand banks; a little below the mouth of it the Danes have a thatcht house, but for what reason they kept an house there, I never could learn."

The author of the anonymous account of Hughli in 1712, quoted under the early history of the English, also mentions having visited "the Danes' Factory at Gundulparā."

The Danish settlement does not figure in history at all during the first half of the eighteenth century. In the year 1755 they obtained permission from Alivardi Khan, the then Viceroy of Bengal, to settle and erect a factory at Serampur. They paid Rs. 1,60,000 for this permission, which was granted through the influence of M. Law, then chief of the French factory at Kasimbazar, a nephew of the famous John Law, the projector of the Mississippi scheme. The chief of the Danish factory, who took over Serampur, was named Soetman. They got permission to occupy sixty *bighas* in all, and took three *bighas* at Serampur itself, and 57 at Akna, because "no ship could lay at Ackna though a good factory might be built there on a large open spot of ground;" while, had they taken up the whole grant at Serampur itself, they would have been obliged to purchase all the houses on the ground, to the value of ten or twelve thousand rupees. This shows that Serampur was a village of some importance, even before the Danes settled there. Akna lies between the river and the East Indian Railway, and now forms a part of Serampur Municipality.

The Danes gave the name of Frederik's-nagar, after their King, to their new settlement, which was actually taken over by them on 8th October 1755.

When Siraj-al-daulat was marching on Calcutta, in June 1756, he ordered Sootman to join him, with all his troops, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; to which Sootman answered that he had neither horse, foot, nor guns, but was living in a miserable mud hut with two or three servants.

During the war that ensued, from 1757 to 1763, between France and England, the Danes took no active part; but their sympathies naturally were with the French, who had given them houseroom for so long in their own settlement at Chandarnagar. The following extracts from the correspondence of the Calcutta government with the Directors at home refer to this subject:—

Letter to Court, 31st December 1758.—Para. 6.—Complains of the partiality of the Danes for the French, the chief of Serampur factory having sent a ship with provisions to Pondicherry, and acting as a means of communication between the French allowed to remain in Bengal and Pondicherry. In this he only follows the example of his superior officer, Crag, the Governor of Tranquebar, who helped Lally in his attack on Tanjour. Accordingly all French in Bengal will be deported to the Coast. (Madras.)

Minutes of Consultations, Fort William, 11th January 1759.—Letter from Mr. Ziegenbalg and the Gentlemen of Frederick Nagore, asking why their Company's ship *The King of Denmark* was stopped. Reply to be sent to Mr. Ziegenbalg and the gentlemen of the Danish Factory, stating that their partial behaviour towards the French and the help given by them to our enemies with provision, have forced us to watch their conduct carefully, and to detain their ship, but that if they please we will land their rice at Madras.

Ditto, 18th January 1759.—Letter from Mr. Ziegenbalg and the other gentlemen at Fredericknagore, dated the 15th instant, acknowledging ours of the 11th, intimating that they cannot but submit at present, but they hope to be redressed by Judges in Europe; that they cannot accept our proposal of landing their rice at Madras, and contracting with us for it, but they will solemnly declare that their ship is destined for Tranquebar only, that if we cannot trust them we can either escort her or send a Commissary with her, also that we will be answerable for any loss incurred by them on account of her detention. Resolution to write to Mr. Ziegenbalg and the gentleman at Fredericknagore, intimating that one of our Europe ships will sail for Madras in about a week, and that we will send their ship under her escort.

In the Council Proceedings of 12th May 1760 occurs a note to the effect that the Danes apply for loan of four cannon and ammunition for defence against Mahrattas. Council regret that they cannot comply, but say the Danes have nothing to fear from the Mahrattas as long as the Company's party under Captain Spears remains in their neighbourhood.

In the Proceedings of 1st March 1763 we hear of a small quarrel between the Danes and the English. Captain Broadbull, at Ghireti, complained that when two companies of sepoy were coming from Calcutta to Ghireti, by the high-road, which runs through Serampur, a *jamadar*, a *harildar*, and a sepoy, loitered behind, got into an altercation with some natives, and were "*chaubucked*" (flogged) by the Danish *zamindar*. On complaining to the Chief of Serampur, he made a counter-complaint that soldiers from Ghireti camp

constantly committed depredations in the town, and representations to Colonel Coote had no effect.

The sequel to this quarrel appears in a reference in a letter from the Court of Directors at home, dated 22nd February 1764, para. 117. The English had thereupon invested the Danish factory, the Danish *samindar* then "did at last make the acknowledgment required," and the troops were withdrawn. The Chief of the Danish factory, M. Demarchez, being a Frenchman, probably bore the English a grudge.

On 29th October 1763 the Danes complained of the oppression of their native merchants by the *Faujdar* at Hughli (Sayad Badal Khan), and by Lahuri Mal, the Hughli *Dewan*, who was appointed by Nuncomar.

Stavorinus in 1769 describes Serampur as follows:—

"Where the Danes have a factory; this is the most inconsiderable European establishment on the Ganges, consisting only, besides the village occupied by the natives, in a few houses inhabited by Europeans. . . . Their trade is of very little importance. . . . They receive only one or two ships every year from Europe, and they have no country trade whatever."

A few years later came the palmy days of Serampur trade, during the American War (1780). England was at war with three great maritime nations—France, Holland, and America; English vessels were exposed to the attacks of privateers, especially French privateers from Mauritius and Réunion, who captured a large number of Indiamen, and rates of insurance were very heavy. Goods shipped from Serampur went in neutral bottoms, and naturally the Danish ships easily got valuable freights at high rates. No less than 22 ships, with an aggregate tonnage of over 10,000 tons, cleared from Serampur within nine months. The Danish East India Company made large profits, and their factors retired with handsome fortunes, made in a few years service.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of 22nd January 1818 quotes from the memoirs of Mrs. Fay, who had died a few months before, a note to the effect that some English merchants freighted a Danish ship, the *Nathalia*, from Serampur for Suez, in 1779, to evade the prohibition by the East India Company of private trade with Suez. Mrs. Fay, who was an old resident of Serampur, came out to India, *via* Egypt, in 1779. The ship in which she came to India having touched at Calicut, the English passengers were taken prisoners by Haidar Ali, and she remained a prisoner to the Sultan of Mysore for some time.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Serampur, like Chinsura, was practically a suburb of Calcutta, and a popular "week end" resort. The hotels there were much resorted to from Calcutta. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 16th March 1786 records that "Mr. Parr, who formerly kept the London Tavern, has taken the new upper roomed house near the flagstaff in Serampore," &c., and opened it as the "Denmark Hotel and

Tavern." Two years later the place had changed hands, and on 30th April 1788 it is advertised as "Late Parrs, John Nichol's, who formerly kept the Harmonick Tavern in Calcutta, has taken that established and well known Tavern in Serampore, lately kept by Mr. Parr," &c.

In 1799 the three famous Serampur missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, settled here. A short account of their work is given in Chapter III of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer in the description of the Serampur College, under the head of Education.

Serampur was again seized by the English in 1801, but restored by the peace of Amiens, which was signed on 27th March 1802. For the next six years it thrived even more than it had done twenty years previously. The Bay was swarming with French privateers, English merchant vessels were taken by the dozen, rates of insurance were prohibitive; the merchants of Calcutta eagerly availed themselves of the neutral flag of Denmark, and obtained Danish Commanders and Danish papers for their ships. These golden days of Serampur came to an end in 1808, when Denmark was again at war with England. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 4th February 1808 thus relates the taking over of the Danish settlement:—

"In consequence of intelligence received by Government of a rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, a detachment of troops from the Garrison of Fort William, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Cary, took possession of the Danish settlement of Serampur, at six o'clock in the morning of the 28th ultimo. The Danish ships in the River Hooghly were, on the same day, taken possession of by the Honble Captain Elliot, of H. M. S. *Modeste*, by Captain Montague, of H. M. S. *Terpsichore*, and by Captain DeCourcy, of H. M. S. *Dasher*."

Serampur was restored again to the Danes in 1815, but after that year it is said that only one vessel ever visited the port, and for many years previous to their sale to England the Danish settlements were maintained only at a heavy expense to the Home Government.

Bhola Nath Chunder, in his "Travels of a Hindu," thus describes the town in 1845:—

"Serampore is a snug little town that possesses an exceeding elegance and neatness of appearance. The range of houses along the river makes up a gay and brilliant picture. The interior keeps the promise which a distant view has given. The streets are as brightly clean as the walks in a garden. There is not much bustle or activity, the place greatly wears the character of a suburban retreat. But time was when there was a busy trade, and 22 ships cleared from the small port in the space of six months."

In 1845 the Danish Government sold their Indian settlements, Tranquebar, on the Coromandel Coast, south of Pondicherry, and Serampur, to the British, for the sum of twelve lakhs. The latter was taken over on 11th October 1845, after being in the possession of the Danes for ninety years and three days.

In 1845 a subdivision of the Hughli district had been started, with head-quarters at Dwarhata, Mr. L. Jackson, afterwards Sir Louis Jackson, of the High Court of Calcutta, being the first subdivisional officer. On the acquisition of Serampur, the head-quarters of the subdivision were moved to that place.

The history of Serampur, as far as it has had any, subsequent to 1845, and its present condition, are described in Chapter VII (Municipalities) of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer.

I have only ascertained the names of a few of the Danish Governors, as follows:—

Soetman	... 1753—55
Ziegenbalg	... 1759
Demarchez	... 1763
Colonel Bis	... 1789—1805 Died at Serampur 13th May 1805.
Jacob Krofting	... 1805—1828
J. S. Hohlenberg	... 1828—1833
Colonel Rehling	... 1836
P. Hansen	... 1836—1842
Lindeman	... 1842 to 1845

The celebrated Botanist, Surgeon Nathaniel Wallich, who was for many years Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Sibpur, was originally a Surgeon in the Danish service, and Medical Officer of Serampur. He became an Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service on 10th May 1814, Surgeon on 5th May 1826, retired on 9th April 1846, and died in 1854. His best-known work is "*Plantæ Asiaticæ*."

Wallich was a Jew. His real name was Nathan Wolff. He received a license from the Royal Academy of Surgeons at Copenhagen on 25th April 1806, was appointed Surgeon at Serampur on 1st November 1806 in succession to a Dr. Guenzius (who had died in 1806 at Serampur), sailed in the Danish East India Company's ship *Prince of Augustenburgh* on 8th April 1807, and arrived at Serampur on 18th November 1807. When Serampur was taken by the English in 1808 he was taken prisoner, but was released on parole. In 1809 he was employed under Roxburgh in the Botanical Gardens, but was again serving as Surgeon at Serampur in 1810. Dr. J. A. Voight, author of "*Hortus Suburbanus Calcuttensis*," was Surgeon at Serampur from 1827 to 1842. He died in London on 22nd June 1843.

7. *The other European Companies.*—I have already briefly related the history of the settlements in Hughli district of five European nations—Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, and Danes. A few words may be devoted to describing the attempts of other European nations to obtain settlements on the Hughli. At least four other nationalities, Scots (before the Union), Belgians or Austrians, Prussians, and Swedes, made some attempt to do so, though only one ever got the length of actually acquiring land and building a factory. That settlement, though not in, was just opposite to, the Hughli district.

The Scottish Company.—On 26th June 1795 the Scottish Parliament authorized the King to grant a charter to a Scottish Company, giving power to trade to Africa, America, the Mediterranean, the East and West Indies. This Company only sent one ship to the East; it was wrecked in the Straits

of Malacca, and never reached India. In 1698 the Company embarked on its endeavour to colonize the Isthmus of Darien, the first ship reaching Darien in November of that year. As is well known, the scheme ended in a tragedy of failure.

The Ostend Company was the only one of the four here mentioned which got the length of acquiring settlements in India. The Emperor of Germany granted to a Company of merchants at Ostend, then in the Austrian Netherlands, a patent permitting them to trade with India. Grose states (Vol. I, pp. 317-320) that this charter was given in 1719, for thirty years, that ships were sent out in 1720 and 1721, that in 1723 both France and England forbade their servants to hold shares in the Company; and that the Charter was in 1727 suspended for seven years, and was never revived. Stewart states that the charter was granted by the Emperor in August 1723, and that in 1724 they received a grant of land at Banki Bazar, where they fortified a factory, from Murshid Kuli Khan, Viceroy of Bengal. Banki Bazar is on the east bank of the Hughli, where Garulia now stands, opposite to Bhadreswar. Their tenure of this place was not long. Stewart says (p. 422) that the Emperor withdrew his charter in 1727, that in 1730 the English captured one of the Ostend ships, and that in 1733, on the representation of the Dutch and English, the Nawab ordered them to be attacked, and turned out. They defended their factory against the troops of the Nawab for some time, but, having lost several men, and their chief having lost his arm, they abandoned it in the night, retreated by the river in their ships, and returned to Europe, abandoning all hope of retaining a settlement in Bengal. Stewart quotes Orme as giving 1748 as the date of their expulsion, but says that 1733 is the correct date.

In the account of the French and Chandarnagar I have already quoted Hamilton's description of the expulsion of the Ostenders from Banki Bazar. As Hamilton's Travels were published in 1744, this expulsion must have occurred previous to that date, and 1748 cannot be the correct date. Stavorinus describes Banki Bazar as follows:—

"The East India Company of Ostend had formerly a factory here, about two Dutch miles below ours, on the eastern bank of the Ganges, at a place called Banki Bazar, but which, after a long siege, having been taken by the Moors, in 1738 or 1739, the Ostend Company were obliged to abandon the trade of Bengal."

The translator of Stavorinus says, in a foot-note, probably quoting from Orme, that this occurred in 1748. This Company had also a settlement at Covelon, or as Grose calls it Coblon, on the Coromandel Coast, 56 miles north of Pondicherry.

The Empden or Prussian Company.—In 1751 a Company of merchants at Empden, a town on the North Sea, close to the boundary between Germany and Holland, received a charter permitting them to trade with India, from the

King of Prussia. The English, French, and Dutch, while ready to quarrel among themselves, were equally ready to combine to prevent any fourth party cutting into the lucrative trade of Bengal, and did so with much effect on the present occasion. The Proceedings of the Calcutta Government contain several references to the Prussian Company. In a despatch to Court, dated 6th September 1754, para. 11, the Council state that they have obeyed the orders of Court in relation to the ships expected from Empden, and have forbidden pilots, masters, and mates, to give assistance to any ships not belonging to Powers already established in India. The French and Dutch, they state, have promised to do the same. The Proceedings of 2nd September 1754 contain a letter, dated 27th August, from the Director and Council at Chandarnagar, promising to prevent the ship expected from Empden from making a settlement in Bengal. The Proceedings of 16th September contain a letter, dated 8th, to the same effect, from the Dutch Director and Council. A letter from the Court of Directors, dated 25th March 1757, para. 71, absolutely forbids all trade with the Prussian ships, or any assistance to them, except "the usual assistance of water, provisions, or real necessities." Finally, the Proceedings of 21st August 1760 record—

"Received a letter per *Onslow* from Mr. John Young, dated London 18th July 1759, requesting we would take into our possession all the effects of the Royal Prussian Bengal Company."

Apparently the Company was sold up.

The Swedish Company.—Grose states that the Swedes projected a Company to trade with India in 1730. This Company apparently never got further than a project.

8. *Hughli District (subsequent to 1760).*—The story of Hughli district, from 1760 to date, is administrative rather than political. In 1765 the Mogul Emperor invested the East India Company with the *Diwani* of Bengal. Bholā Nath Chander states that the first printing press in India was put up at Hughli in 1778, by Hallēd and Wilkins, to print a Bengali grammar. Probably he meant the first vernacular press.

In Rennell's map of Bengal, dated 1781, all the tract which at present makes up the districts of Hughli and Howrah is included in Bardwan, except a narrow strip along the east bank of the river, from Naya Sarai to Fort Gloster, which is shown in a different colour, but not named. The name of Hughli is given to a tract of country, on both sides of the Hughli river, extending from Contai to the Raimangal river; this tract now forms the Contai and Tamluk subdivisions of Midnapur, and most of the 24-Parganas. Rennell marks the names of about fifty places in what is now the district of Hughli. Of these the most important are Ambooa (Guptipara), Inchura, Ballagurry, Niasari, Terbonee, Moggura Gaut, Boenchee, Purruah (Pandua), Kissabutty (Mahnad), Deneacolly, Saatgong, Poanan, Bansbaria, Bandell Hoogly, Chinsura, Chandernagore, Ghyretty, Serampour, Allinagar (Kotrang)

Chunditulla, Bundipur, Nallyoure (Nalikul), Herpaul, Kistnagar, Rajbulhaut, Jahanabad, Gosepour, Dewangunge, Buddumgunge, Bazdepour. He shows a track in the line of the present Grand Trunk Road, but gives it no name; the Old Benares Road is shown as passing through Kristonagar, and crossing the Damudar at Rajbalhat, some ten miles south of its present alignment.

Orme's map marks only Ambooh, Purruah, Hughley, and Chandernagore. Stewart's map, date 1813, seems to be a copy of Rennell's, except that only eleven place names, all among those quoted above, are given. Herklot's route map (undated, but early in the nineteenth century) marks Ambooa, Inchurra, Ballagurry, Boenchy, Purruah, Niasarai, Moggra Gt., Saotgang, Bansbaria, Bandell, Hoogly, Chinsura, Chandernagore, Ghyretty, Digum, Serampore. He shows the route for troops as passing *via* Niasarai and Inchura, and does not show the Grand Trunk Road. The *Magra Khal* and *Kunti Nadi* are called the *Sorasotty C^t*.

It is generally supposed that the riverside strip of Hughli, from Tribeni southwards to Sankrail, lying east of the Saraswati river, originally formed a part of the Nadiya district, while the greater portion of the district, west of the Saraswati, was part of Bardwan. The strip east of the Saraswati almost coincides with the part shown in a different colour in Rennell's and Stewart's maps. To this day that part of the district east of the Saraswati is known as "*Nadiya Kharij*;" the rest of the district as "*Bardwan Kharij*," i. e., separated from Nadiya and Bardwan respectively.

It is easy to understand how part of the Hughli district may originally have been included in the district of Nadiya, which still marches with Hughli for some twenty miles. It is not so easy to see how any part of Hughli can ever have been combined with Jessore. But the following official notification certainly, in some way or other, combines parts of Hughli and Jessore.

The number of district charges in the hands of different officers, independent of each other, being considered too large, was reduced in 1787. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 29th March 1787 contains a long list of reductions, among which are two relating to the Hughli district. I confess I fail to see how Hughli, or even parts of it, could be combined with Nadiya and Jessore at the same time, while the two latter remained separate charges. The notifications relating to Hughli, which appear among a long list of others, are as follows:—

"The Honorable Court of Directors having been pleased to direct a reduction of the number of establishments formed for the collection of their revenues, the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council has made the following new arrangements in Bengal and Orissa.

"T. Henckell, Esq., confirmed Collector of Jessore, with additions from Mahomed Shaby, lately under J. Sherburne, Esq., Hoogly, lately under R. Holme, Esq., and parts of other districts.*

"F. Redfearn, Esq., confirmed Collector of Nuddea, with additions of Hoogly and other districts."

In 1793 the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, introduced that much debated measure, the permanent settlement of Bengal. At the same time the office of *Faujdar* of Hughli, first established by the native Government of Bengal, when Hughli became the Royal Port of the Province, after the destruction of the Portuguese in 1632, was abolished. The last *Faujdar*, Nawab Khan Jahan Khan, received a pension of Rs. 250 per month, and was allowed to continue to occupy the old Mogul Fort until his death, which occurred on 23rd February 1821. A pension of Rs. 100 per month was then bestowed upon his widow.

The district of Hughli, including Howrah, was cut off from Bardwan, as a separate magisterial charge, in 1795, but for 27 years more it remained a part of the Bardwan Collectorate in all revenue matters. The Hon'ble C. A. Bruce was the first Judge and Magistrate. Toynbee states that he corresponded direct with the Governor-General in Council, and was an officer of much greater influence and importance than the District Magistrate of the present day. Mr. Bruce was succeeded before 1799 by Thomas Brooke, who was in turn succeeded by Mr. Ernest, who held the post at least up till 1809.

In 1814 the *thanas* of Baidyabati and Rajapur were transferred from the 24-Parganas to Hughli, and on 1st January 1815 the different *thanas* in the district were, according to a list (shown on page 59) given by Toynbee, who adds three *thanas* placed under Hughli at a later date. Of these 3,787 villages, five contained from 1,000 to 2,500 houses, and 16 from 500 to 1,000. Howrah city was then part of Calcutta.

In 1817 the Government had to order the Collector of Bardwan to reside at that place and not at Hughli; and five years later Hughli was made a full Collectorate, including Howrah. The land revenue of the Hughli district was then Rs. 11,23,474, and the stamp, excise, &c, revenue about Rs. 76,526, or about twelve lakhs in all; while about thirty lakhs remained as the revenue of Bardwan and the Jungle *Mahals* (Bankura). The formation of the new Collectorate of Hughli took effect from 1st May 1822.

In 1825 came the cession of Chinsura to the English, and in 1827 Fort Gustavus, the old Dutch Fort, dating from 1697, was pulled down. In 1830 the old Mogul Fort was also pulled down. In both cases the materials were used for road-making.

* The *Calcutta Gazette* of 19th February 1789 notes the death, on 13th February, of "Robert Holmes, late Collector of Hughli."

Period.	No.	Name of thana.	VILLAGES.		REMARKS.
			1810.	1819.	
1795	1	Hughli ...	161	174	Now Balagarh.
	2	Bansbaria ...	98	89	
	3	Benipur ...	197	194	
	4	Pandua ...	191	209	
	5	Dhaniekhali ...	395	372	
	6	Haripal ...	184	174	
	7	Rajbalhat ...	271	239	Now Kristonagar
	8	Jahanabad ...	383	310	Now Arambagh.
	9	Diwanganj ...	262	200	Now Goghat.
	10	Chandrakona ...	390	292	Now in Midnapur.
Added in 1814	11	Ghatal ...	157	155	
	12	Bagnan ...	354	359	Now in Howrah.
	13	Ampa ...	132	129	
Added in 1814	14	Rajapur ...	...	210	
	15	Beidyabati ...	...	230	
Added in 1819	16	Kotra ...	...	203	Now Shampur in Howrah.
	17	Ulubaria ...	...	248	Now in Howrah.
Added in 1831 ...	18	Chinsura ...	...	...
Total			3,127	3,787	

Sati, or the burning of widows along with their husbands' dead bodies, was frequently practised in the Hughli district by the high caste Hindus who lived in such numbers along the banks of the sacred river. In Seton Karr's "Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes" there are several accounts of *satis*, seen by European passers-by. One at Chandarnagar is described in the Gazette of 10th February 1785, one at Serampur on 21st August 1823. Toynbee states that, between 1815 and 1829, in fourteen years, no less than *thirteen hundred and ninety-eight satis* were reported in the Hughli district.

Probably a great many more went unreported. *Sati* was abolished by Regulation XVII of 1829 in the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck. It is strange to think that now in 1901 there is an officer still living, who saw a *sati* in 1829. The officer in question was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Halliday, then Magistrate of Hughli, and subsequently Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. (Buckland's "Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors," Vol. I, pp. 160-62). Sir Frederick died on 22nd October 1901.

In 1829 Smyth's Ghat and the old Circuit House at Bandel were built.

In 1818 the Government of India started a semaphore telegraph system, which was to be carried from Calcutta to Benares, like the one then in existence between London and Portsmouth. In 1821 Lieutenant Weston was at work, building the towers required for the purpose in Hughli district. He was succeeded in 1825 by Captain Playfair, who appears to have finished the towers. The experiment was a failure, and was abandoned about 1830. How many of these towers were built I cannot say. There are still standing two in the Howrah, four in the Hughli district, and seven in the Bankura district; the fourteenth, if it was ever built, would be in Manbhum district. The first semaphore station would of course be Fort William. The first six towers are at regular intervals of about eight miles, and are exactly in a straight line with each other, except that the first, Mohiari, is a little south of such a line. These six towers are at the following places:—

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Mohiari | ... 8 miles west of Calcutta. |
| 2. Borgachi | ... 8 miles north-west of Mohiari. |
| 3. Dilakhas | ... 4 miles south-west of Kristonagar. |
| 4. Haiathpur | ... 9 miles north-east of Khanakul. |
| 5. Mubarakpur | ... 3 miles south of Arambagh. |
| 6. Navasan | ... 1½ miles north-west of Goghat. |

The seven towers which continue the line through Bankura are at the following places:—

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (1) Peno. | (4) Ramsagar. |
| (2) Puraotimpur. | (5) Chandrakona. |
| (3) Tantipokhur, in the Bishenpur jungle. | (6) Bankura. |
| | (7) Chatna. |

A similar series of Semaphore towers was in use, before the introduction of the telegraph, from London to Portsmouth.

The towers are about eighty to one hundred feet in height, and are built with four stories or tiers. There is now no sign of a stair left in any of those I have seen.

The Great Trigonometrical Survey was commenced in the Hughli district in 1830, suspended in June 1831, recommenced in March 1832. Great opposition, both active and passive, was shown by the people, who apprehended that the survey would be followed by an increase of taxation, and the work was not finally completed till 1845. There are eight survey stations in the

district. For two of these, Mubarakpur and Dilakhas, the old semaphore towers were used; for a third the roof of Hughli College was utilized, while for the other five, towers were built. These towers are square, about 50 to 60 feet in height. That at Bhola is within a few yards of the Tarakeswar branch of the East Indian Railway, on the north of the line. The sites of these stations are as follows:—

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Hughli | ... Roof of Hughli College. |
| 2. Dilakhas | ... As above. |
| 3. Mubarakpur | ... As above. |
| 4. Aknapur | ... 8 miles north-east of Tarakeswar. |
| 5. Bhola | ... Half-way between Nalikul and Singur. |
| 6. Sathan | ... 1½ miles south-east of Dwarbasini. |
| 7. Boga | ... 5 miles north of Naya Sarai. |
| 8. Niala* | ... 8 miles north-east of Bainchi. |

Toynbee relates how in 1837 the then Judge, Mr. C. R. Martin, was suspended on charges of bribery, brought by three *munsiffs*. At the same time the Government Pleader, Tafazal Hosain, was suspended on a charge of taking a large bribe from a client, on the plea that the money was required to be paid to the Judge, "according to custom," in order to win the case. One Noona Bai came forward and charged the judge with having received certain sums of money from her under promise of giving appointments of *munsiff* to certain persons nominated by her. A full enquiry was held under Regulation XVII of 1813. The Judge was acquitted, the Government Pleader dismissed, Noona Bai got seven years' imprisonment for perjury. It is not stated what happened to the three *munsiffs*.

Toynbee states that in 1839 the following places in Hughli district were the seats of *munsiffs*; (1) Hughli, (2) Naya Sarai, (3) Mahanad, (4) Baidyabati, (5) Dwarhatta, (6) Rajapur, (7) Bali, (8) Ulubaria, (9) Khirpai. The first six are still in Hughli district, but Hughli is the only one of the six where *munsiffs* are now stationed. The next three are now in Howrah, and Khirpai in Midnapur.

In 1843 Howrah district was cut off from Hughli, as a separate Magisterial charge. The separation was made under Government order No. 268 of 27th February 1843. The *thanas* transferred to form the new district were Kotra, now Shampur, Ulubaria, Rajapur, and Bagnan. Howrah city seems to have been separated from Calcutta at the same time. Apparently Ampta *thana* was not transferred to Howrah till a later date. Some villages in Baidyabati *thana* were transferred to Howrah in 1845. The first Magistrate of Howrah district was William Tayler, who was to win fame in the Mutiny, fourteen years later, as "Patna Tayler." Howrah had been a separate Civil Surgeoncy at least twenty-three years earlier. A tombstone in the North Park Street

* This tower fell in the earthquake of 1925, but the ruins may still be seen.

Cemotery, Calcutta, bears the name of Robert Nighland, late Civil Surgeon of Howrah, died 20th October 1820.

In 1845 the Hughli district was divided into three subdivisions, the *Sadr*, Dwarhatta, and Khirpai. Dwarhatta subdivision corresponded to the modern Serampur, and the head-quarters were removed to that town on its purchase from the Danes, later in the same year. Khirpai corresponded to the modern Jahanabad.

The Commissionership of the Bardwan Division was founded in 1854, by Bengal Government order, dated 25th January 1854. The head-quarters of the Division have several times been moved, as follows :—

1. At Bardwan (Government order of 25th January 1854).
2. From Bardwan to Howrah (Government order of 21st June 1871).
3. „ Howrah to Hughli (Circuit House) („ „ of 7th September 1871).
4. „ Hughli to Howrah („ „ of 20th April 1875).
5. „ Howrah to Chinsura („ „ of 10th March 1879).
6. „ Chinsura to Bardwan („ „ of 29th December 1884).
7. „ Bardwan to Chinsura („ „ of November 1896).

Hughli was not affected by the Mutiny, no native troops being stationed there; though at the time the residents were under some apprehension lest the native troops at Barrackpur should mutiny, and plunder Hughli on their way up-country. It was in the 34th Native Infantry, at Barrackpur, that the first open mutiny occurred. In Hughli district the *samindars* presented a petition, complaining of the inefficiency and cowardice of the police *barkandazes*, and begging that a bolder class, recruited from professional *lathials*, might be entertained. The experiment was tried on a small scale at Hughli, and a number of Native Christian police were enlisted, though these men were presumed not *lathials* by profession.

The *thanas* of Jahanabad and Goghat were transferred to Bardwan, Ghatal and Chandrakona to Midnapur, from 1st July 1872. Khanakul *thana* was transferred to Howrah in 1876. From 1st October 1879, *thanas* Jahanabad and Goghat were retransferred from Bardwan, and Khanakul from Howrah, to Hughli, the three being formed into the Jahanabad subdivision, by Bengal Government order dated 6th June 1879, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 18th June 1879. The latest change in the boundaries of the district was the transfer of Singti outpost in Khanakul *thana*, with an area of 34 square miles, and a population of 42,414, in 42 villages, from Hughli to Howrah, by Government notification No. 3838J., of 3rd September 1894. The name Jahanabad was changed to Arambagh by Government notification No. 36J.D., of 19th April 1900, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 25th April 1900.

The scheme now under consideration in 1901, for the formation of a separate district to include the coal-mining tracts, with head-quarters at Raniganj or at Asansol, may possibly involve further changes in the Hughli district. One of the suggestions made is the transfer of Arambagh subdivision again to

Bardwan, with the transfer of the Kalna, and possibly also of the Katwa subdivision of Bardwan to Hughli.

As it now stands, the district of Hughli comprises three subdivisions—the *sadr*, or Hughli, with five *thanas*, Hughli, Polba, Balagarh, Dhaniakhali, and Pandua; the Serampur subdivision, also with five *thanas*, Serampur, Singur, Chanditola, Haripal, and Kristonagar; and the Arambagh subdivision, with three, Arambagh, Goghat and Khanakul. Howrah is an entirely separate Magisterial district, with a Magistrate, District Superintendent of Police, and Civil Surgeon, of its own; but for revenue purposes forms a part of the Hughli Collectorate. Besides the Magistrate, Hughli usually has either a Joint or an Assistant Magistrate, sometimes both, and six or seven Deputy Magistrates, at the *sadr* station. The Subdivisional Officer of Serampur is almost always a member of the Covenanted Civil Service; a Deputy Magistrate is usually stationed at Serampur to assist him. The Subdivisional Officer of Arambagh is usually a member of the Provincial Service.

Howrah is not a separate Judgeship, but forms part of the Hughli Judgeship; which, as well as having a Judge of its own, usually shares with the 24-Parganas the services of an additional Judge, who is stationed at Alipur, but conducts the sessions at Howrah. There is a Small Cause Court Judge of Howrah, Hughli, and Serampur, who holds his Court at the three places alternately. Two Sub-Judges are stationed at Hughli, and one *munsiff*; Serampur and Arambagh have three *munsiffs* each; there are also three *munsiffs* at Howrah, and one each at Ulubaria and Ampta.

The area and population of the different *thanas* and subdivisions, at different times, will be found in Chapter III—Population of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer.

9. *Ethnology* has been considered under the head of race, in Chapter III—Population of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer; but a few notes on the Musalman inhabitants of Hughli district are also given below. These notes have been furnished to the District Census Report of 1901 by Maulvi Syad Ashrafudin Ahmad, *Matwali* of the Hughli Imambarah; Maulvi Muhammad Kabir, *Matwali* of Sitapur; Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Huq of Pandua, and Maulvi Abdul Kadir, Subdivisional Officer of Arambagh.

There are three chief centres of Musalman influence in the district :—

- (1) Pandua, head-quarters of Pandua *thana*, in the Sadr subdivision.
- (2) Sitapur and Phurphura in *thana* Kristonagar, in the Serampur subdivision.
- (3) Goghat and Mandaran in Goghat *thana* in the Arambagh subdivision.

Pandua is the chief Musalman centre. The Musalmans of Pandua mostly belong to the upper classes, or *Ashraf*, as they are called, and are generally known as *aimadars*, from *aima*, a grant, bestowed by the Moghul Government for services rendered by their forefathers. During the early years of British

rule, when the British officers' duties were chiefly confined to the collection of revenue, and judicial authority was left in the hands of *Kazis*, or Musalman Judges, *Kazis* were frequently chosen from among the *aimadars* of Pandua, and the post of *Kazi-al-kazzat* (*Kazi* of *Kazis*, or chief *Kazi*) was for some time hereditary in a Pandua family, the last holder of the post being *Kazi* Muhamad Mazhar. The Musalmans of Pandua are said to be chiefly descended from the officers and soldiers who invaded Bengal under Shah Sufi in the fourteenth century.

Sitapur, Phurphura, Bandipur, and a few other small villages, are the chief seats of Musalman influence in the Serampur subdivision. The Musalmans of these parts are also chiefly *Ashraf*, and are said to be the descendants of Musalmans who invaded Bengal in the fourteenth century, about the same time as, and possibly in conjunction with, Shah Sufi's invasion. There is a tradition that a Bagdi king, who ruled in Phurphura, was defeated by Musalmans named *Hasrat* Shah Kabir Halibi, and *Hasrat* Karamudin, both of whom were killed in the battle: their tombs to this day are revered both by Hindus and by Musalmans.

Mandaran and Goghat are said to have been in the possession of a Hindu king, who was conquered, at a date unknown, by Shah Ismail Ghazi, an invader from Gaur. There is an inscription* on the tomb of the conqueror in which appears the date 900. This must be the date by the *Hijra*, or Musalman era, and would about correspond with the year A. D. 1505, as the *Hijra*, or exodus of the Prophet from Mekka, took place in 622 A. D., and would fix the date of the conquest of Mandaran about the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

In the district of Hughli the Sunnis greatly predominate in number over the Shiah; but in the town of Hughli there are about 500 Shiah, the presence of so large a number being due to the existence of the Imambarah, which, having been founded by a Persian, is a Shiah institution.

The chief tenets of the Sunnis are as follows:—

- (a) *Kalimah Shahadah* (bearing witness to the word), the declaration that there is but one God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God.
- (b) Acceptance of the Quran (Koran), and the *Ahadis*, or traditions.
- (c) Prayer five times daily, and observance of the thirty days' fast of the Ramazan.
- (d) Acceptance of the *Hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, and the obligation of *sakat*, or distribution of charity to the poor in accordance with the means of each.

The Shiah differ from the Sunnis chiefly with regard to the succession to the prophet. They add to the *Kalimah*, "There is no God but one God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God," the words "and Ali is the rightful successor of the Prophet." The Sunnis consider that Muhammad's father-in-law,

Abu Bakr (the father of the Virgin), was the rightful successor of the Prophet, and the first *Khalifah*, followed by Omar and Osman, Ali being the fourth *Khalifah*. The Shiahs consider that the first three were usurpers, and that Ali was by rights the first *Khalifah*. Abu Bakr was the father of Ayesha, whom Muhammad married when she was only nine years old. He succeeded the Prophet, when the latter died in A. D. 632, only reigned two years, and died on 22nd August A. D. 634. Omar or Umar succeeded him in A. D. 634, A. H. 13, and was assassinated in A. D. 644; he also was a father-in-law of Muhammad, who married his daughter Haisah. Osman, or Usman ibn Affan, was Muhammad's son-in-law, having married two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqaiyah and Ummu Kulsum. He was killed in A. D. 656. His successor Ali was first cousin, adopted son, and son-in-law of Muhammad, having married the Prophet's daughter Fatimah, who bore him three sons, Hasan, Husain, and Muhassin; the last named died in infancy. Ali reigned from A. H. 35 to A. H. 40, when he was murdered. Hasan succeeded his father as fifth (or second) *Khalifah*, but abdicated, after a reign of six months, in favour of Muawiya, son of Abu Sufyan, one of the companions (*Ashāb*) of the Prophet. Muawiya died in A. H. 60. He was the first *Khalifah* who made the *Khalifat* hereditary, and founded the dynasty of the Umayyah (Ummiades). Hasan was poisoned in A. H. 49 by his wife, Jadah, who was suborned to commit the deed by Yazid, son of Muawiya, by a promise, which he did not keep, of marrying her. Husain was defeated and slain at the battle of Karbala, in A. H. 61, by Yazid, who had succeeded his father as seventh *Khalifah*, according to the Sunnis, in the previous year. The Shiahs consider Husain as the third *Khalifah*, or rather *Imam*, for they do not use the title *Khalifah*. From Hasan and Husain are descended the Saiyads, or descendants of the Prophet. The martyrdom of Husain is celebrated yearly in the Muharram festival. Karbala, where Husain was killed and buried, is a city in the province of Iraq, fifty miles south-west of Baghdad, and about six miles west of the Euphrates. It is the holy place of the Shiahs, as Mecca is of the Sunnis, and after its name Shiahs call their burial grounds Karbalas.

The Sunnis of this district chiefly belong to the Hanifi sect, and follow the teachings of their founder, the *Imam* Abu Hanifa, whose doctrines are generally received throughout Turkey, Central Asia, and India. Those recently converted to Islam are known as "new Musalmans," whether Shiahs or Sunnis.

Both Shiahs and Sunnis celebrate the usual festivals of the Musalmans, (1) the *Id-al-Asha*, or Greater *Id*, or *Bakr Id* (Cow Festival), or Feast of Sacrifice, celebrated by the sacrifice of a cow; (2) the *Id-al-Fitr*, or Lesser *Id*, the festival of breaking fast after the month of Ramazan; (3) the *Shab-i-Barat*, or Night of Fate; (4) *Nauroz*, or New Year's Day. The Greater *Id* is celebrated on the tenth day of the month *Zu'l Hijjah*, the Lesser *Id* on

the first day of *Shawwal*, the *Shab-i-Barat* on the fifteenth of *Shaban*. But while the Sunnis say their *Id* prayers in the mosques under the leadership of an *Imam*, the Shiah repeat their prayers in the privacy of their own homes.

There are said to be a few *Wahabis* in the district. The *Wahabis* are a sect of reformed Musalmans, who call themselves *Muwahhid* or Unitarians. They have been compared to Protestants in the Christian religion, one of their chief tenets being that the Quran requires no interpretation, but that each man can interpret its teachings for himself. It would take too much space to give their doctrines, or a description of the sect, here. The sect was founded by Muhammad, son of Abdul Wahab, born in Najd in A. D. 1691. They are numerous in Eastern Bengal, but few in Hughli.

There are no local reformers, but there are several Maulvis of note in the district, such as Maulvi Abu Bakr Sahib and Maulvi Abdul Ahaid Sahib of Phurphura, and Shah Murshid Ali of Andnapur. They preach no new doctrines, but inculcate the usual observances, such as *Zikr* (remembrance of the name of God). They are said to be learned men, well versed in the Quran and the *Ahadis* (traditions). There are also many *Rhondkars*, or hereditary religious preceptors. Some of these men possess very little religious knowledge themselves, but are only revered by their disciples because one of their ancestors was renowned as a preceptor. In this way the performance of religious teaching has tended to become hereditary. But with the spread of education these hereditary teachers are gradually losing their influence, which is falling more into the hands of the learned Maulvis.

No religious propaganda is now carried out in this district; nor does it appear that any forcible conversion was ever made on an extended scale, judging from the small number of Musalmans in the district. For when Islam was the ruling power conversion for material ends as well as by faith must have been far more common than now, yet the number of Musalmans is small.

Hindu superstitions are not observed by the educated classes of Musalmans, but some of the lower classes follow the Hindu practice of outcasting.

Pirs are venerated by the lower classes of Sunnis. The chief *Pir* or saint of the district is Shah Sufi, the victor of Pandua, who is said to effect miraculous cures, and people pray to him for the fulfilment of their wishes through his intercession. More about *Pirs* will be found under the head of folklore.

The higher classes of Musalmans are known as the *Ashraf*, the lower classes as *Ajlaf* in this district, in other places often as *Atraf*. The *Ashraf* comprise Saiyads, Moguls, Pathans, and generally those who are either rich, learned, or of good character. They confine themselves to trades or professions which are considered honourable; their ideas on this subject, however, differ

widely from those of Europeans, the trade of a tailor or *darsi* being among those considered honourable. There is no religious prohibition against intermarriage between the higher and lower classes, theoretically all are equal, but as a matter of fact the *Ashraf* seldom either intermarry or take food with the *Ajlaf*. In the mosque and in the cemetery all are equal, practically as well as theoretically, and a servant, if he arrives first, may stand before his master in the mosque, and may lie beside him in the cemetery.

The *Saiyads* are the descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter Fatimah, wife of Ali, and her two sons, Hasan and Husain. The descendants of the latter are known as *Husaini Saiyads*. Beg is a branch of the *Saiyad* family, which came to India from Turkistan. The great Sheikh family has many subdivisions, some of which are held in high estimation as noble families; e.g., Quraish, the name of the Arabian tribe to which Muhammad belonged; the Abbasis, descendants of *Hasrat Abbas*, paternal uncle of the Prophet; to this family belonged the Abbasid *Khalifas* of Baghdad, who ruled the Musalman world from A. H. 132 to A. H. 656; during these five centuries 37 *Khalifas* reigned; the Siddiqs, descendants of Abu Bakr, the first *Khalifah*, who is called *Siddiq*, or the truthful; the Usmans, descendants of Usman, the third *Khalifah*; Faruqs, descendants of Umar, the second *Khalifah*; *Ansaris*, descendants of the early converts at Madinah, known as *al-Ansar* (the helpers). The appellation Sheikh is now, however, given to all Musalmans who do not belong to the nobler families, including converts. Not every man, who calls himself a *Saiyad*, is really a descendant of the Prophet; the title of *Saiyad* is sometimes assumed by those who have no right to it, a practice not wholly unknown in other countries besides India.

The Musalman names of Biswas, Chaudhri, and Hazra are not common in Hughli district; but Mir, Mirza, and Khan are fairly common surnames. Many families who were formerly known as Mirs, have, on the acquisition of wealth or learning, called themselves *Saiyads*. *Mir* is an abbreviation of *Amir*, and was a title conferred by the Mogul Emperors on officers, such as *Mir Shikari*, *Mir Munshi*, &c. *Ghazi* and *Dafadar* are military titles, similarly conferred upon those who distinguished themselves in battle; the title of *Diwan* was given to men of letters, Musalman and Hindu alike. *Jolahas* and *Kabaris* are the lowest classes of Musalmans, and are probably the descendants of low caste Hindu converts. *Jolahas* were originally weavers, *Kabaris* vegetable sellers; but most of these classes, as well as most of the lower classes of Sheikhs, are now cultivators. Occupations are, as a rule, hereditary, but with the spread of education, more and more men abandon the occupations of their forefathers.

In the Serampur subdivision there are a few *Zairs*, who, like other Sunnis, acknowledge the first three *Khalifas*, but do not follow the teachings of the Imam Abu Hanifah. Literally, a *Zair* is one who has made the

pilgrimage to Muhammad's grave at Madinah, as opposed to *Haji*, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

10. *Folklore*.—Several legends are current about various places in the Hughli district. Those which have come to my notice are recounted below:—

(i) *The legend of Pandua* is given at full length in the description of that place in Chapter VII of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer.

(ii) *The legend of Ranjit Rai's tank*.—For this legend I am indebted to Assistant Surgeon Syam Nirod Gupta, of Arambagh. Ranjit Rai was a big *samindar*, called by courtesy a Raja, who lived in a village named Garhbhari, on the north of the Old Benares Road, about a mile east of Arambagh. He was a devoted worshipper of the goddess Durga, who on one occasion played the part of his daughter, to show him favour. On the morning of the day of the *Baruni* festival (the thirteenth day of the moon in April), a *shankhari*, or dealer in conch shell ornaments, while passing near the tank now known as Ranjit Rai's tank, felt thirsty, and went to the tank to get a drink of water. On reaching the *ghat* he saw a beautiful maiden bathing there. The maiden enquired who he was. On hearing that he was a *shankhari*, she asked whether he had a pair of *shankhas*, or shell bracelets, which would suit her. He said that he had such a pair, but they were expensive. The girl then came out of the tank, and asked the man to put the bracelets on her wrists. He did so, and told her that their price was five rupees. The girl said that she had no money with her, but that, if the man would go to her father, Ranjit Rai, he would pay for the bracelets. She further told the *shankhari* to tell her father that he would find, in a niche in the room facing south, a small box with five rupees in it; and added, that if her father made any demur to paying, if the man returned to the *ghat* and called for her, she would pay. The *shankhari* accordingly went to Ranjit Rai's house, told his story, and asked for the five rupees. Ranjit Rai, it happened, had no daughter, and at first he thought of simply dismissing the man as a liar; on second thought he went to look for the box, and found it, with five rupees inside, in the place described. He then thought that some supernatural agency was at work, and went with the *shankhari* to the *ghat* where the girl had been bathing. The *shankhari* called out for the girl whom he had seen, saying, "Where are you, Oh beautiful maiden, who took a pair of *shankhas* from me this morning?" In answer, a pair of hands, wearing the new bracelets, were raised from the water in the centre of the tank. The Raja threw himself on the ground

and prayed to Durga, and in the evening celebrated a great *puja* at the tank. To this day the *Baruni* or bathing festival is celebrated at Ranjit Rai's tank. The tank is on the south-west of the Arambagh-Arandi Road (Road No. 59), in its second mile.

(iii) *The legend of Mohesh* is given in Bhola Nath's "Travels of a Hindu," Vol. I, p. 5; and is to the effect that Jagannath and his brother Balaram, when at this place, having fasted the whole day, had to pawn a bracelet, belonging to the temple of Jagannath at Puri, with a shop-keeper at Mohesh, in order to procure food. On their return to Puri the ornament was missed by the Pandas (priests), who had to come to Mohesh to redeem it.

(iv) *The legend of the Bhagirathi* is given, under the heading of that river, in Hunter's "Gazetteer of India," and is as follows:—

"King Sagar was the thirteenth ancestor of Rama, and had ninety-nine times performed the *Aśwamedha Jajna*, or great Horse Sacrifice, which consisted in sending a horse round the Indian world, with a defiance to any one to arrest its progress. If the horse returned unopposed, it was understood to be an acquiescence in the supremacy of the challenger, and the animal was then solemnly sacrificed to the gods. King Sagar made preparations for the hundredth performance of this ceremony, but the god Indra having himself performed the sacrifice, and jealous of being displaced by a rival, stole the horse and concealed it in a subterranean cell, where a holy sage was absorbed in heavenly meditation. The sixty thousand sons of Sagar traced the horse to its hiding place, and believing the sage to be the author of the theft, assaulted him. The holy man being thus aroused from his meditation, cursed his assailants, who were immediately reduced to ashes, and sentenced to hell. A grandson of Sagar, in search of his father and uncles, at last found out the sage, and begged him to redeem the souls of the dead. The holy man replied that this could only be effected if the waters of Ganga (the aqueous form of Vishnu and Lakshmi) could be brought to the spot to touch the ashes. Now Ganga was residing in heaven, under the care of Brahma, the Creator, and the grandson of Sagar prayed him to send the goddess to earth. He was unsuccessful, however, and died without his supplication being granted. He left no issue, but a son, Bhagirath, was miraculously born of his widow, and through his prayers Brahma allowed Ganga to visit the earth. Bhagirath led the way to near the sea, and then declared that he could not show the rest of the road. Whereupon Ganga, in order to make sure of reaching the bones of the dead, divided herself into a hundred mouths, thus forming the delta of the Ganges, one of these mouths arrived at the cell, and by washing the ashes, completed the atonement for the sin of the sons of King Sagar."

(v) *The legend of Tarakeswar* is given as follows in the "List of Ancient Monuments in the Burdwan Division":—

"Raja Vishnu Das, a Kshatriya by caste, lived at Mohaba Garkalingar in Oudh, early in the eighteenth century. Rather than remain under the rule of the Musalman Nawabs of Oudh, the Raja emigrated to Bengal, and took up his abode at the village of Ramnagar at Balagarh, near Haripal, about two miles

from where Tarakeswar now stands. With him came 500 followers of his own caste, and 100 Brahmans from Kanauj. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood suspected them of being robbers, and sent word to the Nawab of Bengal at Murshidabad that a large gang of marauders, in complete armour and with strange beards and moustaches, had come and settled near Haripal. The Nawab sent for them, when the Raja presented himself, and said that they were a harmless folk who only wanted some land whereon to settle. Tradition states that, to prove his innocence, Raja Vishnu Das went through the ordeal by fire, holding in his hand a red-hot iron bar, without injury. The Nawab was convinced, and gave him a grant of 500 *bighas* of land, equal to 1,500 at the present day, eight miles from Tarakeswar. Vishnu Das had a brother who had become a religious mendicant, and wandered about the neighbourhood as a devotee. While living in the jungle near Tarakeswar, then known as *Jot Savaram*, he noticed that many cows entered the jungle with udders full of milk, and returned with them empty. Varamal Sinh, as the devotee was called, followed them to see who milked them, and saw them discharge their milk of their own accord on to a stone which had a deep hollow in it, made by cowherds grinding rice upon it. He tried to dig up the stone, and spent a whole day at the work without reaching its lower side. During the night he dreamed that Tarakeswar, the divine reliever of the world (a form of Shiva), appeared to him and ordered him to desist from trying to dig up the stone, but to build over it a temple of Tarakeswar, of which he should be the worshipper and *mohant*. Varamal Sinh then went and related his dream to his brother Vishnu Das, whose help he asked. The two brothers accordingly built the temple of Tarakeswar over the sacred stone, and Varamal Singh became the first *mohant* or warden of the temple. The original temple having fallen into decay, the present building was erected by the Raja of Bardwan. Chintamani De of Howrah is said to have erected the marble hall in front of the shrine in gratitude for having been miraculously cured of disease, in answer to prayer at the shrine."

- (vi) *The legend of the Bahula Nadi, or Baolia khal*, a small stream which enters the Magra khal, a little to the west of Naya Sarai. There once lived a great merchant named Chand Saudagar, who had no reverence for the serpent goddess Manasa. She, out of revenge, caused a snake to bite his only son Lakhindar, whose corpse was not allowed to be cremated. Chand's wife, mother of Lakhindar, took the body with her on a raft made of plaintain stems, and with it floated down the river Bahula, which was subsequently named after her. Her prayers and tears moved the gods to compassion; the goddess Manasa appeared and brought Lakhindar to life again. It is said that from this legend grew the custom of not burning the body of a person who has died from snake-bite.

- (vii) *The legend of Dwarbasini*.—This legend was furnished to me by Babu Satkauri Ghosh, Head Master of Dwarbasini School. It is much the same as the traditions of Pandua and Mahnad, related in Chapter VII of the Hughli Medical Gazetteer. At the time of the Musalman invasion of Bengal, a line of Hindu kings of the Satgop caste had

their capital at Dwarbasini. The last of them was named Dwar Pal. His dominions were invaded by a Musalman general named Muhamad Ali. The first battle fought was indecisive. In Dwar Pal's palace enclosure was a tank called the *Jibat Kund*, which had the property of curing the wounds of all who bathed in it, and even of restoring to life the bodies of those killed in battle, if they were placed in the holy water. A Musalman saint, named Saha Jokai, obtained permission from Dwar Pal to bathe in this tank, and entered the water with a piece of beef concealed in his garments; the pollution thus caused destroyed the miraculous properties of the tank. Deprived of its help, Dwar Pal was totally defeated by the invaders in a second battle, after which he and his whole family burned themselves on a funeral pile within his palace, which was thus reduced to a heap of ruins, known as *Dhan Pata*. Before his death he predicted that, whenever a respectable Hindu of the Satgop caste should come to live at Dwarbasini, he would become its king. It is said that, as long as the Musalman dominion lasted, no Satgop was ever allowed to settle there.

The tank now shown as the *Jibat Kund* is simply a small shallow pool on the south side of a much larger tank known as *Kamana* (prayer-fulfilling). A small tomb on the east of the *Jibat Kund* is said to be that of the *Pir*, Saha Jokai. It is in good repair, having been renewed about ten years ago. Another large tank, a little to the east, now divided by cross *bunds* into three small tanks, is known as *Chandra Kup* (tank of moonshine). Some distance further north are another large tank called *Papharan* (sin-removing); and a series of seven tanks called *Sat Satin*, after the Raja's seven wives. On the south-east of Dwarbasini is a slightly raised mound, composed of broken brick, known as the *garh*, a fort. All over the village, a little below the surface, are the remains of brick houses and walls, with many filled-up wells; and local tradition says that much treasure has from time to time been dug up, as well as many broken sculptured stones.

Under the head of folklore may naturally fall an account of the various deities who are worshipped in order to obtain immunity from, or cure of various diseases; also of different lesser deities worshipped in the district. The latter are in many cases local, and of celebrity only within a small area; the former are mostly general, and not peculiar to the Hughli district, which only shares in their worship with other parts of Bengal. My notes on these subjects are taken from the draft of the district census report for 1901;

to which they were mostly contributed by Babus Satis Chandra Mukerjee of Guptipara, Satyendra Nath Gupta of Bainchi, and C. B. Chakravarti, Deputy Magistrate, Hughli.

Sitla, the goddess of small-pox, is the best known and most widely worshipped of the deities who preside over disease. Though specially connected with small-pox, she is also worshipped at some places in order to obtain immunity from other diseases. She is a malignant deity, and if not propitiated, scatters death on all sides by spreading the germs of small-pox. A block of stone usually does duty as her image. On occasions of special worship, however, a regular idol is made, in the shape of a female, with four arms, riding on an ass. In one hand she holds a broomstick, in a second a water-pot, in a third a winnowing fan. Her body is naked, but adorned with ornaments, as well as covered with pustules of small-pox. There is no shrine to her in Hughli district. All classes of Hindus worship her. Among the higher castes, a Brahman officiates as priest. Offerings to her are made of fruits, rice, and sweets; animals are also often sacrificed to appease her thirst for blood. Several low castes, such as Bagdis, Doms, Chandals, and Mochis, worship *Sitla* by carrying about clay figures from door to door, singing and begging alms. In rural areas the bodies of Hindus who have died of small-pox are often buried instead of burned; but in towns this practice has ceased.

Rakshya Kali is often worshipped in times of cholera or other epidemics, not that she is specially the goddess of that disease, but as a general protectress against danger. She is also worshipped, in epidemic seasons, in cremation grounds, and is then called *Sasan Kali*. She is merely one form of Kali, Durga, or Bhagabati, the wife of Siva.

Ola Bibi, *Olai Chandi*, or *Olesari*, is the special presiding deity of cholera. She is a malevolent deity, and is specially invoked in times of cholera epidemic. She has no image; her external symbol is an earthen pot. Seldom is any temple built to her; her worship is celebrated under a *Nim* tree. The month of *Baisakh* is considered most favourable for her worship, which is celebrated on a Tuesday or Saturday during the bright half of the moon. All castes join in her worship, but the officiating priest is usually a Brahman of one of the inferior orders. At Bainchi there is a shrine of *Olai Chandi*, where the officiating priest is a *Gwala* Brahman. Fruits, rice, sugar, and sweets, form the offerings to this goddess; goats are also sacrificed to her. The officiating priest distributes a portion of the offerings to the worshippers and keeps the rest for himself.

Jagatgauri is the name of another goddess who presides over cholera as well as snake-bite. She is the sister of Manasa, and is at times benevolent, at other times malevolent. She is represented as a female seated on a throne with a child in her lap. She has shrines at Nalikuldanga and Chautkhanda,

where she is worshipped by all castes, from Brahmans to Haris. Her worship is celebrated daily, on special occasions on a Tuesday or a Saturday. The officiating priest is a Brahman, through whom every one has to approach the goddess. Besides the usual offerings of rice, fruit, &c., goats, sheep, and buffaloes are sacrificed to her; while Doms and Haris sacrifice pigs. Other Hindus, while they consider pigs unclean, do not object to their sacrifice, on condition that it is performed behind and not in front of the altar. A *mela* is held every year in honour of this goddess, in the month of *Jaistha*, on the fifth day of the bright half of the moon, when large crowds assemble at her shrines.

Manasa is a malevolent goddess, who presides over snake-bite; and, if not propitiated, sends a plague of snakes over the face of the country to bite her recalcitrant worshippers. She is also known as *Jaratkari* and *Bishahari*; the latter name, however, is now usually regarded as being the name of a separate deity. *Manasa* is the lady referred to in the legend of the *Bahula Nadi*, quoted above. She is worshipped by all classes of Hindus. As a rule no idol of her is made, but a branch of the *Manasa* tree is planted in a corner of the courtyard of each Hindu household, as an emblem of the deity, and there worshipped by the family Brahman. At some places in the Arambagh subdivision, she is represented by a clay figure of a female mounted on a snake. She is worshipped on the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month of *Jaistha*, and then on the fifth day of each succeeding month until the last day of *Shravan*; in special cases her worship is carried out on any Tuesday or Saturday. [*Manasa* tree (*Euphorbia Neriifolia*).]

Khadai is another name for the goddess who presides over snake-bite. She is a transformation of *Manasa*, the serpent goddess. She is malevolent, but when propitiated ensures her worshippers immunity from snake-bite. Her symbol is a *Manasa* tree; but sometimes she is represented as a female, seated on a snake, and attended by eight other snakes. Mochis and other low castes worship her; the officiating priest is generally a Mochi. She is worshipped on the last day of *Shravan*. The offerings, which are kept by the priest, consist of rice, fruits, and sweets; goats and buffaloes are sometimes sacrificed to her.

Bahula is another name given to *Manasa*, apparently from the story given above as the legend of the *Bahula Nadi*. Under this name she has a temple at Bainchi, where she is worshipped daily, chiefly by Jaliyas. The officiating priest is a Jaliya Brahman. Special worship is carried out here on the full moon day of the month of *Baisakh* and in the *Dasahara* festival.

Snakes, as is well known, are often worshipped. If a man can get hold of the actual snake which bit him, or knows the hole where it lives, he tries to propitiate it with offerings of milk, sugar, &c. Some time ago a sepoy of the military police stationed here was bitten by a snake. The then Civil

Surgeon was sent for at once. On his arrival he found the bitten man endeavouring to propitiate the snake which had bitton him, and which he had managed to get hold of, with a saucer of milk. The Civil Surgeon at once recognized that the snake was not a poisonous one, and told the man so. The sepyo was very unwilling to believe that the snake was a harmless one, but at last, on being persuaded that it was so, he took off his heavy shoe, and gave the snake a blow on the head which killed it, at the same time abusing its female relations to the last generation, and calling it an impostor which had got milk out of him by setting itself up as a poisonous snake, and thus cheating him under false pretences.

Ghantakarna, the god of skin diseases, is a malevolent deity. He was a great hero, and a devoted follower of Siva, who granted him as a boon power over cutaneous diseases. He is represented by a lump of cowdung, on the top of which are placed a few cowries, dyed vermilion. All castes join in his worship, which is conducted outside the front gate of a house. The special time for his worship is the last day of *Phalgun* before sunrise. No Brahman is required to officiate as priest; the *mantras* or prayers are recited by women or children, who are his special worshippers. The offerings consist of rice, *masur dal*, and *Ghanta* flowers, (*Clerodendron infortunatum*). Sometimes this deity is represented as a female, *Ghantoswari*.

A. *Achal Rai* is a god of disease, who effects miraculous cures in cases of phthisis and ophthalmia. He has a shrine at Barul near Dhaniakhali, which has considerable local renown, and is visited even by persons coming from distant villages. The image of the god is a rectangular block of stone, about a yard long. Worship is performed daily. A *mela*, at which large crowds assemble, is held in honour of this god on the full moon day of the month of *Baisakh*. The officiating priest is a Jaliya. All castes pay homage to this god, but even Brahmans make their offerings through the Jaliya priest.

Dharmraj (king of righteousness) is worshipped in many places as the god of snakes, a malevolent deity, chiefly by the lower castes. The time usually considered most favourable for propitiating him is the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Bhadon*. Besides offerings of rice, fruits, and sweets, goats and other animals are sacrificed to him, the offerings being the perquisite of the priest.

At Kochmali, near Bainchi, *Dharmraj* has a shrine in the house of a Gwala, and *puja* is performed by a Gwala Brahman.

At Berala, near Bainchi, *Dharmraj* is represented by a huge block of stone. As priestess he has a Dom girl, through whom even Brahmans make their offerings.

At Rameswarpur *Dharmraj* is worshipped by a Jaliya priest, and animals are sacrificed to him.

At Natibpur, near Khanakul, Dharmraj has a shrine, where a symbol of the god is kept in a small covered case, no one being allowed to see what it is. All castes of Hindus in the neighbourhood worship at this shrine, but the priest is a Dom.

At Goghat Dharmraj has a shrine, where he is represented by the form of a tortoise kept in a box. All Hindu castes worship here, but none are allowed to touch the idol, or to do *pūja*, except through the priest, who is a Brahman.

Dharmraj is also a name given to Yama, the god of the infernal regions, the Indian Pluto. Ordinarily the god is represented in the figure of a human being. At the village of Tildanga, on the Guptipara-Inchura Road, in *thana* Balagarh, the god is worshipped in the form of a block of stone, by all Hindu castes, but chiefly low castes, such as Doms, Bagdis, and Chamars. This form of Dharmraj is also worshipped at Mulgram. In both cases the priest is a Dom.

Jalkumari (water princess) is the presiding deity of water. She is generally invoked when death by drowning occurs, and the *pūja* is celebrated on the bank of the river or tank in which the accident took place. Naturally there is no fixed time for this worship. The officiating priest is a Brahman. The offerings mostly consist of rice, fruits, and sweets; but on special occasions goats are sacrificed to the goddess.

Exorcism is had recourse to by Hindus chiefly for hysteria and mental aberration. The patients are supposed to be possessed by evil spirits, and to drive out these spirits is the business of the exorcist, who may be of any caste. The method of procedure is by uttering *mantras*, blowing on the patient, and making passes with the hand over all parts of the body; the patient is also made to inhale the steam of burning turmeric, and sulphur is burnt.

Ghosts or evil spirits are firmly believed in by all classes of Hindus. Ghosts are supposed to be the spirits of the dead who are unable to leave the earth. Their ranks are recruited by all those who die unnatural deaths, such as being killed by wild animals or by snake-bite, by other injuries, by drowning; those who die of incurable disease, such as leprosy or phthisis; and women dying in child-birth. Patients suffering from incurable diseases are made to do the *Prayaschitta* ceremony before death, which is supposed to save their souls from remaining on earth after death. A soul, which has thus become an evil spirit, may also be saved by performing the *Sradh* ceremony at Gaya; immediately this is done the spirit leaves the earth, and is reborn. Sometimes a spirit thus redeemed announces its departure by breaking a branch of the tree in which it had its abode. Throwing brickbats and cursing are the favourite ways in which ghosts manifest their displeasure.

There are a number of deities which may be called trade deities, each being specially worshipped by particular trades. The following are some of the deities of this class worshipped in the Hughli district.

Mahkal is worshipped by fishermen. He is a benignant deity, and is worshipped for the sake of success and profit in fishing. There is no image, and no Brahman is needed as priest. The usual offerings are fruits and sweets, which the worshippers themselves consume. The name appears to be a contraction of *Mahakal* (eternity).

Vishkaram or *Viswakarma* is the divine architect, and the god of artisans. He is a benignant deity, and is represented as seated on an elephant, with an axe in one hand and a hammer in the other. When no image is available, *puja* is done before an earthen jar filled with water. The place of worship is the workshop of the worshipper, who carefully arranges by the side of the image all the implements of his craft. All artisans, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, &c., join in this worship. The day of celebration is the last day of *Bhadon*. The officiating priest is a Brahman, who takes the offerings, consisting of fruits, rice, sugar, and sweets. No animal is sacrificed to him.

Panchpir is a Musalman saint invoked by Musalman boatmen when they go on a voyage.

Gobind-raj-ji is a deity invoked by milkmen, *gwalas*, &c., at Sripur in *thana* Balagarh. Though ordinarily benevolent, it is said that he would kill any one who supplied adulterated milk for his worship.

Kali, the universal deity, is worshipped by Bagdis and other low castes when about to set out on a *dakaiti* expedition. This is the only instance of the worship of *Kali* being conducted without a Brahman priest.

Kayasths, and even Brahman clerks, on the *Sripanchami* festival, in *Magh* or *Phalgun*, worship the implements of their calling—pen and ink.

Gramdevta, village god, is a general term for local deities. When there is a local shrine of repute to some particular deity, that deity performs the functions of the local deity. When there is not, the presiding deity is in some cases *Kali*, in others *Vishnu* in his form of *Krishna*, in others *Siva*. Most of the gods of disease, trades, &c., also in some instances appear as local deities. But the most common *gramdevta* is *Kali*. A *Bael* tree, or other tree on the outskirts of the village, is dedicated to the deity, and before this tree worship is performed, but the divine spirit, and not the tree itself, is theoretically the object of worship.

Among the minor deities which are worshipped in this district as *gramdevtas* are *Gandheswari*, *Sasthi*, *Mahkal*, *Biswakarma*, *Dharmraj* and *Jalkumari*, *Kalubar*, *Thakur*, *Lohajangh*, *Bishahari*, *Bishalakhi*. Several of these have been already described.

Gandheswari is the tutelary deity of the *Gandhabaniks* (spice-dealers or grocers). She is a benevolent deity. The only visible representation of this

deity is an earthen jug, on which the image of the goddess Durga is painted in vermillion. On a line with the jug are placed the scales and weights which form the implements of the Gandhabanik's trade. Worship is performed at the family residence or at the place of business of the worshipper, on the day of the full moon of *Baisakh*, and lasts for a day. The officiating priest is a Brahman. He keeps the offerings, which consist of rice, fruits, and sweets, with sometimes goats and buffaloes.

The *Sasthi* is an incarnation of Durga or Kali, the wife of Siva. The *Sasthi* is worshipped by all classes of Hindus. No image is ever made to her, but in the *mantras* sung in her honour she is spoken of as a female sitting on a lotus flower with infants in her lap. Only females and children join in the worship, which is performed for the well-being and health of the children. There are several occasions when she is worshipped. The principal *puja* takes place on the sixth day of the light half of *Jaistha*, and is conducted at the foot of a *Bar* or a tamarind tree, generally before a piece of stone. The trunk of the tree is smeared with vermillion. *Puja* is also done to this goddess on the day when the mother of a child comes out of the lying-in room, on the expiry of the prescribed days of separation after child-birth. A Brahman officiates as priest, and takes the offerings, which consist of rice, plantains and other fruits, curds, and sweets.

Kalubar is a deity of Doms and Haris. He is supposed to preside over the elements, and his worship averts calamities by storms, floods, &c. It is celebrated on the thirteenth day of *Baisakh*. A piece of stone, smeared with vermillion, is placed under a tree, and serves the purpose of an idol. Offerings of rice and plantains are made, and sometimes pigs are sacrificed.

The *Thakur* is another name of the sun god. He is benignant, and grants prosperity to his worshippers. He is represented by a small earthen jar placed upon a flat dish of the same material; they are then set on the floor of the room, and allowed to remain there for a month from the end of *Kartik* to the end of *Agrahayan*. Worship is performed on the four Sundays of this month. Flowers, fruits, and sweets form the offerings to this god; they are kept by the officiating priest, who is generally a Brahman, but in the absence of a Brahman the worshipper may perform the office himself.

Bishalakhi is a form of Kali. The name means "with widely-open eyes." There is an ancient shrine to her at Senet, in thana Polba. The idol is not painted black, like the ordinary Kali, but yellowish-red. It is held in great esteem, and people from distant places, especially women, come to worship her in the months of *Magh* and *Phalgun*. There is a ruined shrine of *Bishalakhi* at Parul, in the south-east of Arambagh town.

Lohajangh (iron thigh) is a form of Siva worshipped at Natagor village in thana Balagarh. The deity is both benign and malevolent; he represents the destructive power of force. A piece of ordinary stone under a *Pipal* tree

forms his image. It is worshipped on the second day of the new moon of the month of *Push*. The worship is a distorted form of Siva worship, and consists in prayers for the expulsion of devils and evil spirits, with supplications for the grant of good harvests and earthly bliss. The officiating priest is a Brahman, and usually takes the offerings, which consist of rice, fruits, and sweets; sometimes goats and sheep are sacrificed. Occasionally the worshipper himself keeps the offerings.

Bishahari is a form in which the goddess Manasa is worshipped at Teornai, on the Guptipara-Tribeni Road, in Balagarh *thana*. She is a benignant deity, and is represented by an earthen water-pot. Her worship is performed on the fifth day of the new moon in the month of *Bhadon*. It is performed chiefly by the lower castes, but the officiating priest is a Brahman. Sacrifices of goats, which are kept by the worshippers, are the chief feature of her worship.

Satyanarain is a form of Vishnu. His worship has received some additions from the faith of Islam, and it is considered advantageous that the *puja* should be performed under the eyes of a Musalman, though the officiating priest is a Brahman. His symbol is a rectangular piece of board, on which is placed a dagger covered with a cloth. There is no fixed date or place of his worship; it is held at times in every Hindu household, always in the early hours of the night. The offerings, which consist of plantains, a seer and-a-quarter of flour, and the same amount of milk and sugar made into a jelly, with other sweets, are distributed among the worshippers. He is benignant, and blesses his votaries with abundance and with immunity from danger.

Satyanarain Pir is a form of the same deity, worshipped both by Hindus and Musalmans in Arambagh subdivision. The deity is represented by a small mound of earth smeared with vermilion. He is supposed to have been a Musalman *pir* or saint. Offerings of rice, pice, cowries, and clay horses, are made at the shrine, and songs sung before it in the evenings.

Pir means a Musalman saint, and in every Sunni Musalman village there is a *dargah* or shrine dedicated to some *Pir* or other. Low caste Hindus also often worship at the shrine, and make the usual offerings of sweets and clay horses. The Musalman *mullah* in charge consecrates the offering by touching it and chanting texts from the Koran. The Musalmans sacrifice fowls in honour of the *Pir*. Such of the offerings as are edible are usually divided between the *mullah* and the devotees. The best known *Pirs* in the district are Shah Sufi of Pandua, above described, and the three following:—

Saichand Pir, a corruption of Shah Chand Pir, whose shrine stands on the site of his tomb in Hughli, near the old Court-houses. He is benignant, and is supposed to have the power to cure illness and confer other blessings. When the Courts were at Hughli, litigants used often to promise and make offerings at

his shrine, when they won their cases with his aid. Both Hindus and Musalmans adore him with the usual offerings.

Almon Sahib, a contraction of Ali Imam Sahib, is a deified Musalman saint, who has a shrine at Birpur near Bainchi. He is benignant, and is supposed to have the power to cure diseases, especially rheumatism, by the dust of his shrine smeared on the body. Hindus of all castes join with Musalmans in his worship, which is usually performed on Thursday forenoons. The officiating priest is a Musalman *fakir*, but formerly a Hindu held the post. The priest takes the offerings, which consist of clay horses, fruits, and milk.

Shayamba Pir is another deified Musalman saint, who has a shrine at Kochmali near Bainchi. Both Hindus and Musalmans worship him in the same manner as Almon Sahib.

Nature Worship is comprised under three chief heads—the Sun, the Earth, and the Ganges.

The sun is worshipped by all classes of Hindus, but no temple or shrine to him exists in this district, or indeed anywhere in Lower Bengal. But daily an oblation to the sun is offered, the offering being called the *Surjya Arghya*. When Siva or Vishnu is worshipped with flowers and other offerings, an *Arghya* is always offered to the sun. It is composed of *Durba* grass, unboiled rice, red sandalwood powder saturated with water, a flower, by choice a red flower, some leaves of the *Bael* tree, and water. When this offering is made, a *mantra* is addressed to the sun as the creator of the universe. All classes of Hindu shopkeepers paint the *Swastika** on their account-books in honour of the sun. In *kacha* houses a patch of ground in front of the main entrance to the courtyard is washed with a mixture of cowdung, earth, and water, early every morning, to receive the first ray of the sun. The worship of the sun, as the Thakur, has already been described, among the minor gods.

The *planets*, nine in number, according to Hindu astronomy, are worshipped, as well as the sun. The nine planets are the Sun, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, with Rahu and Khetu; the two last being supposed to be the umbra and penumbra of the earth's shadow. There are fixed *mantras* to these planets, called the *Navagra Stotram*. The aid of all these planets is invoked by Hindus when they rise from bed in the morning.

The *Earth Goddess* is worshipped by all pious Hindus, before beginning the worship of any of the great gods, by chanting in her honour a *mantra*, which is called *Asan Suddhi*. No offerings are made. In honour of this goddess, a dying man is laid on the earth, so is the mother at the time of child-birth.

* The *Swastika* is an invocation of the deity, made by painting a rough figure, intended to represent a human form, on the outside of the account book.

and the first stream of milk, when milking, is allowed to fall to the ground. Chandals and other low castes worship her at the *Bastu puja*.

The *Ganges*, and the *Hughli* is considered to be the *Ganges*, is worshipped by Hindus of all castes, especially on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jaistha*, when, besides offerings of raw rice, fruits, and sweet-meats, goats are sacrificed. A Brahman officiates as priest, and keeps the offerings, except the goat, which is returned to the worshipper. It is considered especially meritorious to bathe in the *Ganges* on the occasion of eclipses, and some special *Jogs*, or devotions.

One such festival, the *Ardhodojo Jog*, on the 28th of February 1891, was responsible for one of the greatest epidemics of cholera which have ever been known in Bengal. The disease broke out among the crowds of pilgrims bathing in the river, almost simultaneously, at many widely separated places, and was carried all over the province by the pilgrims returning to their homes. This particular festival takes place only once in thirty years, and it was said at the time that this would be the last occasion on which it would be celebrated in Bengal, as at the end of the nineteenth century the sanctity of the *Ganges* would come to an end, and the *Narbada* would become the sacred river of the Hindus. The nineteenth century, however, has gone, and the twentieth has come; but there are no signs of any diminution in the sanctity of the *Ganges*. According to one calculation, it was at the end of the nineteenth century of the Bengali era, which came to an end in April 1893, that this change was to take place. The matter was discussed, and roused some interest at the time. I believe it was decided that the sanctity of the *Ganges* would not pass away. Another calculation fixed the date of the change as 1909. In the *Hughli* district the most sacred, and hence the most auspicious, spot on the banks of the river is *Tribeni*. An account of the *melas* held at *Tribeni* is given in the description of that place, in Chapter VII of the *Hughli Medical Gazetteer*.

Sacred trees.—Belief in sacred groves forms no part of the Hindu religion, but many trees are held sacred, especially the *Bar* or *Banyan*, the *Bael*, the *Aswatha*, or *Pipal*, and the *Tulsi* plant.

The *Tulsi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) is addressed as the wife of *Vishnu*, in whose worship its leaves are used. When plucking the leaves *mantras* are sung, and the plant is worshipped. This can only be done on certain fixed days. In every Hindu household there must be a *Tulsi* tree, a lighted lamp is set at its foot for a time in the evenings, and songs are sung in honour of *Vishnu*. In the month of *Baisakh* the plant is watered by means of a pot, with a small hole in the bottom, filled with water, and suspended over the plants. Only *Vaisnabs* and specially pious Hindus go through these ceremonies. The stem of the *Tulsi* is made into beads, which are worn by *Vaisnabs*.

The *Aswatha*, or *Pipal*, is regarded as *Narayan*, and as such bowed down to and worshipped.

The *Bar*, or Banyan tree, has always been held sacred by the Hindus.

The *Bael* leaves are required in the worship of Siva; there are special *mantras* for repetition when plucking them. When a *Bael* tree dies, only a Brahman can use its wood as fuel.

The *Aswatha* and the *Bar* are the best shade trees, possibly their sacred character may have originated in this fact. It is considered very meritorious to plant these trees by the road-side or near bathing *ghats*. They are consecrated with a special form of worship called *Pratirtha*. Pious Hindu ladies make such *Pratirthas* through their Brahman priests, under the belief that, in their next birth, the trees so consecrated will be born as their sons.

Some other plants and trees are worshipped at the time of the *Durga Puja*, the rice and turmeric plants, the bael, pomegranate, *asok*, and plantain trees. The *Durba* and *Kusha* grasses are also much used in *pujas*.

The *Lingam*,* which represents Mahadeva or Siva, and the *Sakti*, or *Foni*, which represents his wife, Kali, are worshipped more or less everywhere; they are usually seen in conjunction, though I think that they are not such common objects here as in Bihar. The *Lingam* occupies the chief place in the temples of Tribeni and Tarakeswar.

While belief in evil spirits is universal throughout Bengal, and indeed throughout India, I have never heard of any such beings as fairies in any Indian folklore.

* *Linga* in Bengali, *Lingam* in Sanskrit.

INDEX.

A.

Achal Rai, 74.
Akbar, 4.
Akna, 50.
Aknapur, 61.
Alivardi Khan, 24, 50.
Almon Sakib, 79.
Ambooh, 56.
Ampta, 59.
Arambagh subdivision, 62, 63.
Ardhodoyo Jog, 80.
Aurangzeb, 14, 21.
Azimash-Shan, 19, 21, 50.

B.

Bahula, Goddess, 73.
Bahula, river, 70.
Baidyabati Municipality, 58.
Balagarh, 63.
Bali, Diwanganj, 61.
Bandel, 3.
——, Church, 10.
Bandipur, 64.
Banki Bazar, 55.
Bardwan Commissionership, 62.
Bhagirathi, river, 69.
Bhola, 61.
Bidderra, 29, 33.
Bishahari, 78.
Bishalakhi, 77.
Black Hole, 25, 30.
Boga, 61.
Boughton, Gabriel, 13.
Bridgman, James, 13.
Broome's History, 33.
Bruce, C. A., 58.

C.

Capital punishment, 48.
Carey, William, 53.
Chandarnagar, 27, 40.
Chanditola, 63.
Charnock, Job, 17, 20.
Chinsura, 27, 36.
Clavell, Walter, 16.
Clive, 25, 30, 43.
Commissionership, Bardwan, 62.
Coote, Eyre, 25.

D.

Donemardanga, 47, 50.
Danes, The, 41, 50.
Dhaniakhali, 63.
Dharmraj, 74.
Dilakhas, 60.
Dupleix, 1, 29, 41, 47.
Dutch, The, 26.
Dwarbasini, 70.
Dwarhata, 53, 61.

E.

Earth Goddess, 79.
East India Company, 11.
Ethnology, 63.
Executions, 48.
Exorcism, 75.

F.

Famine, 37.
Farakh Siyar, 21, 23.
Folklore, 68.
Ferde, Colonel, 31, 33.
Fort Orleans, 41.
Forth, William, 29.
French, The, 40.



G.

Gracin, Laurent, 23, 41.
Gandheswari, 76.
Garh Mandaran, 63.
Ghantakarna, 74.
 Ghatal, 62.
 Ghireti, 45, 46, 47, 51.
 Ghosts, 75.
Gobindrajji, 76.
 Goghat, 63.
Golghat, 16.
 Golin, 4.
 Gondalpara, 47, 50.
Gramdeotas, 76.
 Grand Pré, 39.
 Great Trigonometrical Survey, 60.
 Guptipara, 56.

H.

Haiathpur, 60.
 Hamilton, Capt. Alex., 9, 27, 41, 50.
 ———, William, 20, 23.
 Haripal, 63.
 Hedges, Sir William, 17.
 History, 1.
 Hodges, 38.
 Hughli College, 61.
 ———, Municipality, 4, 25.

I.

Ives, Edward, Surgeon, 25, 43.

J.

Jagat Gauri, 72.
Jalkumari, 75.
 Jibat Kund, 71.
Jog, Ardhodoyo, 80.
 Judgeship, 68.

K.

Kali, 72, 76.
 Kalna, 63.
Kalubar, 77.
 Khadai, 73.
 Khanakul, 62.
 Khirpai, 61.
 Kilpatrick, Major, 25.
 Krishnanagar or Kristonagar, 63.

L.

Lingam, 81.
 Lohajangh, 77.

M.

Makkal, 76.
 Mahanad, 61.
 Malleson, G. B., 33, 44.
 Manasa, 73.
 Marshman, Joshua, 53.
 Martin, Claude, 47.
 Master Streyusham, 15, 27, 40.
 Mission, Serampur, 53.
 Mohesh, 69.
 Mosses, The, 39.
 Mubarakpur, 60.
 Muhamad, 65.
Munsiffs, 61, 63.
 Murshid Kuli Khan, 24, 55.
 Musalmans, 63.
 Mntiny, 54.

N.

Nature Worship, 79.
 Navasan, 60.
 Naya Sarai, 61.
 Niala, 61.

O.

Ola Bibi, 72.
 Old Benares Road, 57.
 Ostend Company, 55.

P.

Palasi, 25.
Panchpir, 76.
 Pandua, 3, 63, 68.
 Phurphura, 63.
Pipal, 80.
Pira, 66, 73.
 Pitt, Thomas, 20.
 Planets, 79.
 Plassey, 25.
 Polba, 63.
 Portuguese, The, 3.
 Prussian Company, 55.
 Punishment, Capital, 48.

R.

Rakshya Kali, 72.
Ranjit Rai's tank, 68.
Rennell's map, 56.

S.

Saichand Pir, 78.
Saiyads, or *Syeds*, 67.
Sakti, 81.
Saraswati, river, 3, 57.
Sasthi, 77.
Satgaon, 2.
Sathan, 61.
Sati, or *Suttee*, 59.
Satyanarayan, 78.
Scottish Company, 54.
Semaphore Towers, 60.
Serampur Mission, 53.
———, Municipality, 50.
Shah Ganj, 21.
—— Jahan, 4, 13.
—— Safi, 3, 64, 78.
—— Shuja, 13.
Shayamba, Pir, 79.
Sheikhs, 67.
Shiahs, 64.
Siraj-al-daulat, 24, 29, 42, 51.
Sitapur, 63.
Sitla, 72.
Small-pox, 37, 72.
Snakes, 73.

Soctman, 50.
Stavorinus, 35, 44, 52.
Subha Singh's Rebellion, 20.
Sun God, 79.
Sunnis, 64.
Survey, Great Trigonometrical, 60.
Suttee, 59.
Swedish Company, 56.
Syeds, 67.

T.

Tarakeswar, 69, 81.
Thakur, 77.
Towers, Semaphore, 60.
Toynbee, G., 38.
Tribeni, 81.
Trigonometrical Survey, Great, 60.
Tulsi, 80.

V.

Vivakarma, 76.
Voight, J. A., 54.

W.

Wahabis, 66.
Wallich, Nathaniel, 54.
Ward, William, 53.
Watson, Admiral, 42.

